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The Journal

THE JOURNAL

OF

HELLENIC STUDIES





THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

THE JOURNAL
OF
HELLENIC STUDIES

25992

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J. H. S.



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RULES

OF THE

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

1. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows :—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archaeological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archaeological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilisation.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, 40 Hon. Members, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex-officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society, provided that the Society shall not make any dividend, gift, division or bonus in money unto or between any of its members : in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of five years, and shall not be immediately eligible for re-election.

17. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election.

18. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

19. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

20. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

21. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

22. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

23. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

24. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

25. The names of all Candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to the Council, in whose hands their election shall rest.

26. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a single payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1921, shall pay on election an entrance fee of one guinea.

27. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

28. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

29. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

30. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

31. The Council shall have power to nominate 40 British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

32. The Council may at their discretion elect from British Universities as Student-Associates :—

(a) Undergraduates.

(b) Graduates of not more than one year's standing.

(c) Women Students of equivalent status at Cambridge University.

33. Student-Associates shall be elected for a period not exceeding five years, but in all cases Student-Associateship shall be terminated at the expiration of one year from the date at which the Student takes his degree.

34. The names of Candidates wishing to become Student-Associates shall be submitted to the Council in the manner prescribed for the election of Members.

35. Every Student-Associate must be proposed by his tutor or teacher, who must be a person occupying a recognised position in the University to which the Candidate belongs, and must undertake responsibility for his Candidate, in respect of Books or Slides borrowed from the Library.

36. Student-Associates shall pay an Annual Subscription of 10s. 6d. payable on election and on January 1st of each succeeding year, without Entrance Fee. They will be entitled to receive all the privileges of the Society, with the exception of the right to vote at Meetings.

37. Student-Associates may become Full Members of the Society, without payment of Entrance Fee, at or before the expiration of their Student-Associateship.

38. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members or Student-Associates of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members or Student-Associates.

39. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

December, 1925.

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 Osborne, H., Trinity Hall, Cambridge.
 Pendlebury, J. D. S., 44, Brook Street, W. 1.
 Pickstone, Miss J., Somerville College, Oxford.
 Regan, L. O., 95, Woodside, Wimbledon, S.W. 19.
 Rodger, G. G., Brasenose College, Oxford.
 Rowland, F. E., Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.
 Sanderson, Miss B., Somerville College, Oxford.
 Sharp, Miss Alice Winifred, Royal Holloway College, Englefield Green, Surrey.

- Snelson, E. A., *Caine College, Cambridge.*
 Staines, Miss Kathleen I., 8, *Audley Road, N.W. 4.*
 Sutton, S. W. V., *Clare College, Cambridge.*
 Thompson, L. P., *King's College, Cambridge.*
 Trinder, Arnold Charles, *Clare College, Cambridge.*
 Underhill, J. P., *Clare College, Cambridge.*
 Watkins, A. R., *King's College, Cambridge.*
 Westrup, J. A., *Balliol College, Oxford.*
 Wright, Edward Alfred, *Wadham College, Oxford.*

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PROCEEDINGS

SESSION 1924-1925

During the past Session the following Meetings were held:—

- (1) October 7th, 1924, at Bedford College for Women, Professor Gilbert Murray: *The Great Schools of Philosophy.*
- (2) November 4th, at Burlington House, the President: *The Bronze Elgin Lebes.* Sir Arthur Evans: *A Signet Ring from Nestor's Pylor and A Royal Hoard from Thizbe in Boeotia* (see J.H.S. XLV. pp. 1-75).
- (3) November 6th, at Merchant Taylors' School, Mr. H. I. Bell: *A Greek Adventurer in Egypt.*
- (4) November 25th, at the City of London School, Mr. N. H. Baynes: *The Emperor Julian the Apostate.*
- (5) February 6th, at Westminster School, Dr. D. G. Hogarth: *The Excavator in the Near East.*
- (6) February 10th, at Burlington House, Professor Percy Gardner: *New Light on the Art of Scopas.*
- (7) March 20th, at St. Paul's School, Dr. H. R. Hall: *The Art of Creta.*
- (8) May 12th, at Burlington House, Mr. Norman Gardiner: *Captain Pikhala's Theory of the Pentathlon* (see J.H.S. XLV. pp. 132-134). Miss G. Richter: *A Neo-Atlis Krater in the Metropolitan Museum of New York* (see J.H.S. XLV. p. 201).
- (9) May 29th, at St. Paul's School for Girls, Mr. A. J. Toynbee: *Greek Life and the Greek Environment.*
- (10) The ANNUAL MEETING was held at Burlington House on Tuesday, June 30th, 1925. Mr. Arthur Hamilton Smith, President of the Society, taking the chair.

After it had been reported to the Meeting that no alternative nominations to those on the circulated list had been received, the Chairman declared the elections and re-elections therein proposed duly carried.

Cordial votes of thanks were offered the Society's auditors, Messrs. C. F. Clay and W. E. Macmillan.

The Chairman then proposed the adoption of the Council's Report. After comment on the Balance Sheet, and Income and Expenditure account, he pointed out that they were unaffected by what was at the moment the dominant fact in the Society's life, namely, the move from 19 Bloomsbury Square to 50 Bedford Square. He described the new premises, and reported the progress of the work. An appeal for funds to meet the cost would be issued to members in the autumn. The ease with which the Society would be able to carry its new burdens would depend in great measure on the response to be made to the appeal.

The adoption of the Report was seconded by Sir James Frazer and carried unanimously.

The President then gave an address on recent events in the field of Hellenic Studies.

Touching on the Society's losses during the past year, he said :—

We have to record the recent loss of one of our most eminent honorary members, M^{ons}. Jean Théophile Homolle, at the age of 70. He will always be remembered as the excavator both of Delos and Delphi. To excavate two such sites has, I imagine, fallen to the lot of no other man, for Schliemann's diggings were of another kind. Homolle was abroad as a student of the Schools of Rome and Athens between 1874-8, and began work at Delos in 1877. Then followed twelve years of teaching at Nancy and Paris. In 1891 he became Director of the School at Athens (holding the post till 1904), and at the same time was elected one of our honorary members. In the following year he began work at Delphi. In 1904 he was made Director of the National Museums, but his Directorship was, I think, chiefly marked by an occurrence of that which is the terror of every Museum curator—I mean the coincidence of an audacious thief, and a wardership grown careless through long immunity. The result was the temporary loss of the Leonardo picture. This was followed by another year at the School at Athens, and a return to Paris, as Administrator-General of the Bibliothèque Nationale from 1913, and through the years of the war, until last year. His activities in Delos and Delphi find mention in our *Journal* from beginning to end. In the first article in the *Journal*, Jebb's brilliant account of Delos, he mentions (p. 11) : 'It was in the summer of 1878—the second year of M. Homolle's researches—that I enjoyed the advantage of seeing the excavations on Cynthus and on the plain, under his kind and instructive guidance.' In the Part which reached your hands a fortnight ago, Mr. Tod records a contribution from him to the *Comptes Rendus* on the Delphic inscriptions of the Cleobis and Biton bases.

Another Honorary Member whom we have lost during the year is Mr. J. C. Hopkin, who only occupied that position for the last few months of his life. As a young man he had taken part in Sir C. Walston's excavations at the Argive Heraeum. In later years he was chiefly occupied with the publication of signed vases.

Sir Adolphus William Ward, Master of Peterhouse, was one of our original Members. His work for many years past had been as a historian of recent times and of modern literature, but nearly sixty years ago he began his literary career with a translation in five volumes of Curtius's *History of Greece*.

Lord Abercromby was another of the dwindling band of original Members. He was a distinguished antiquary and folk-lorist, and an ex-President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, but I do not think that he did work in the Hellenic province.

Mr. John Arthur Platt had been Professor of Greek at University College since 1894, and was a distinguished scholar on the literary side of Greek study. He was one of those who joined the Society in its early days as a Cambridge undergraduate.

The fame of Lord Milner was won on other fields than ours. His distinction as a statesman and administrator overshadowed his earlier career as a classical scholar at Balliol and New College. But he joined the Society in its first year—though not strictly speaking an original Member—and continued a Member to the last, and died as Chancellor Designate of the University of Oxford.

Baron Frederick von Hügel joined us in 1884. He was very well known as a leader of Roman Catholic thought—according to his own definition of his purpose 'he worked at Greek and Hebrew; devoted his life to historical criticism as applied to biblical documents, to psychology and philosophy as applied to religious experience, and to the consolidation of such studies amongst his fellow Roman Catholics.'

Mr. R. B. Seager was a well-known Cretan excavator, and his work was not yet finished. He may be said to have died on the field. He embarked at Alexandria for Candia this spring, was taken dangerously ill with a brain attack while at sea, and died within a few hours of reaching Candia.

Prof. Sir Thomas Clifford Allbutt was another Member of long standing—nearly forty years. Starting as a classical scholar of Cairns, he was able to study Greek science from a professional standpoint as well as that of a scholar, and he was the author of *Greek Medicine in Rome*, and works on similar subjects, always retaining an active sympathy with classical study.

It is only now that we have to deplore the death of Mr. A. D. Godley, Public Orator of the University of Oxford.

Mr. Allan Marquand became a life Member in 1886, and was long a leading figure amongst American archaeologists. He was still an Associate Editor of the *American Journal of Archaeology* at the time of his death, in September last, at the age of 71.

Besides those whom I have mentioned, we have to deplore the deaths of Mr. H. G. Evelyn-White, Miss V. M. Goodwin, Mrs. George Frederick Hill, Mr. Reginald Hughes, Mrs. Percy Ogden, Mr. T. H. Orpen, Mr. H. W. Rigg, Mr. Ernest Schuster, Miss A. B. Thompson.

The speaker then dealt with three works of international scope, now in course of publication.

(1) The *Supplementum Epigraphicum Græcum* is published under the general direction of Mr. J. J. E. Houdius of Leyden, assisted by a Committee of scholars, including Mr. Marcus Tod. It corresponds roughly in character with Cagnat's *L'année Epigraphique* for the Latin inscriptions—that is to say, it collects texts of inscriptions from an immense variety of sources to which few persons, if any, would have easy access, in their entirety. Like every collection of the kind, it contains a not unamusing medley of the weighty and the trivial.

(2) The new edition of Liddell and Scott, by Prof. Stuart Jones, assisted by Mr. Roderick McKenzie, began to appear in March of this year, with Part One, A.—*α*, being just one-tenth of the old volume. [A page of the revised copy as sent to the printers was thrown on the screen, and commented on. It was shown to contain four new words, besides other improvements.]

(3) The *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*.

Proposals for a simultaneous publication of their vase collections by the different Museums were laid by M. Edmond Pottier of the Louvre before the Union Académique Internationale, whose seat is at Brussels. M. Pottier was impressed with the fact that the number of vases published graphically was in reality small in proportion to their total number. On the other hand, slight study was needed to prove that a publication in Corpus form would meet with insuperable difficulties and delays. The method adopted was that of simultaneous publication according to a uniform scheme by all the museums and collectors whose co-operation could be obtained. While the general format and methods were to be uniform, considerable local freedom was conceded. On these lines publication has begun.

At the Meeting of the Union which was held in the spring at Brussels, M. Pottier could report that eight parts had been completed, three for the Louvre, one for Copenhagen, one for the British Museum, one for the Museo della Villa Giulia, one for Compiègne, one for Brussels, and ten parts were in preparation. It will be seen that, working upon this principle of independent but simultaneous publication, a very large number of subjects has already been published, and even if the scheme now fell through, useful work will have been done.

[A page of the British Museum fascicule with some of its Panathenak Vases and a page of Louvre Vases was thrown on the screen to explain a difference of treatment which was much discussed at Brussels under the name of Silhouettage.] Liberty has been given to the individual editors to decide whether a group of vases should be photographed with its background and surroundings or without. M. Pottier favours the latter course, and the British Museum has preferred the former. The ideal aimed at is to arrange that the picture taken at the outset shall be as far as possible that which is finally published. Only in that way, it is

maintained, is a vase shown in suitable environment as a real object, with delicate outlines melting it may be into the background. In the alternative plan a more or less accomplished draughtsman must paint out the background of vase. It is no longer possible to see which subjects were taken in a group and their diverse perspectives become embarrassing.

Turning to work in the field, the speaker touched on a Bronze Apollo, recently reported from Pompeii, and said to be attributed by the sanguine hopes of the finders to the fifth century B.C.

A Greek bronze, drawn up from the sea near Marathon by refugee fishermen, appears to be a prototype of the group of young Satyrs from Castel Gandolfo. Three of these are at Dresden, the fourth was acquired by exchange for the British Museum. Some years since the late Mr. Hugh Evelyn White published the type, in combination with a Dionysos, as a Praxitelean group (*J.H.S.* XXIX, p. 257). If the bronze is found to be, in fact, of the type cited, it is an example of how the Graeco-Roman copy of our Museums is more sophisticated and more conventional than the earlier Greek work.

The fragment of a Greek warrior, lately found by the British School at Athens in their Sparta excavations, was also shown by the kindness of the School authorities. The figure appears to be a part of a large group of combatants, of the early part of the fifth century B.C. Its full publication by the British School would be awaited with interest.

At Cyrene the Italians have been actively engaged, and have cleared the central area of the capitol and agora. It is only necessary to compare the plans and views communicated to the *Illustrated London News* of May 16th by Halbherr and the Italian Colonial Department with those of Smith and Porcher in 1862 to see what a revolution has been made on the site. The central part has been fully cleared of sand, and the principal buildings round the agora have been fully revealed. Cyrene, which gave so rich a spoil to Murdoch Smith and Porcher, has again given a gallery of sculpture to the Italians.

Excavations have also been in progress at Apollonia, the seaport of Cyrene, where the columns of a great basilica have been re-erected. It is also a matter of common knowledge that the Italians have been finding sculpture and other objects at Lebda (or Leptis) in the province of Italian Libya.

Leptis Magna was the native town of the Emperor Septimius Severus, and owed most of its buildings to his munificence. They are therefore of the late Empire, at the turn of the second and third centuries. In particular, he built a palace, and dedicated it *Fortunae suae*.

The reason, however, for touching on Lebda when little material, photographed *in situ*, can be thrown on the screen is that attention should be called to the fact that work bearing on the antiquities of Lebda is calling out to be done on a much more agreeable and accessible site.

About a year since a question reached the British Museum, through Consular channels, as to a collection of Lebda fragments, described in Admiral Smyth's *Mediterranean*.

That distinguished officer obtained leave in 1816 to visit Lebda, there to examine some ancient architectural relics, which the Bashaw, at the instance of our Consul-General, Colonel Warrington, had recently offered for the acceptance of our Prince Regent. He described the site as one of extraordinary wealth, in respect of its remains—with about eighty complete shafts of columns of marble, granite and porphyry, ready to be removed without excavation, together with large blocks of entablature, cornice, and architrave.

In the autumn of that year it was arranged for Smyth to undertake the embarkation of the ruins.

There was a delay of some months; and active destruction. In November 1817 the store-ship *Weymouth* was sent to Lebda, and was embarking antiquities for a

month at the rate of at least sixty tons a day, with inscriptions and some sculpture.

On consideration, it appeared that this cargo could only be 'the Ruins' at Virginia Water, a conclusion which was confirmed by a visit to the site, and note of the inscriptions subsequently found to be duly recorded in *C.I.L.* VIII. But one bilingual, seen by Gesenius at Virginia Water in 1825, where it had been placed by William IV, is now in the British Museum. [Views of the ruins at Virginia Water were exhibited.]

How far the ruins in their present form are authentic needs careful study. But if the antiquities of Lebdæ are becoming, as seems to be the case, a subject of serious inquiry, a well-equipped exploring expedition should start from Waterloo—or perhaps from the adjacent Holloway College—for the purpose of making a thorough examination.

After expressions of appreciation of the President's address the proceedings terminated.

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Received during year	78	15	0	" " (Endowment Fund)	1000	0	0
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(Signed) C. F. CLAY.
W. E. F. MACMILLAN.

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 — General index of vols. 1-20, second series. 9 × 5½ in. 1908.
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Topography, Excavation, &c.

The East.

- C3258 Ur, Ziggurat, with courtyard in front.
C3258 " " S.W. façade.
C3259 " gateway leading to temple of Nirkal.

Syria.

- C3344 Jerusalem, the Garden Tomb.
C3243 " " " entrance.
C3271 " the University (from a drawing).
B8936 Maschatta façade *in situ*, general view.
B8937 " " " " "
B8938 " " " detail. "
B8939 " " " "
C3264 Palmyra, archway with keystone in danger.
C3265 " façade, showing damage sustained by pediment.

Asia Minor.

- C3314 Ak-chesir: Tomb of Nasî eddîn Khodja ('Nostradamus').
C3316 Angora, temple of Augustus.
C3315 " " " exterior wall.
C3324 Konia (Iconium): Acropolis with mosque and palace of Alaeddin.
C3318 " portal of the Euergeth mosque (*B.S.A.*, xxi, pl. ix, 3).
C3319 " mosque of Alaeddin, interior.
C3320 " Tekke of Mevlâî dervishes.
C3317 " (near). Portal at Alai Khan (between Konia and Nevshahr).

Constantinople.

The following are taken from the *Atlas of the Bulletin of the Russian Archaeological Institute at Constantinople*.

- C2610 Kairiyeh Mosque or Church of the Chorse. Plan (pl. 89).
C2606 " " " " " View (pl. 69).
C2607 " " " " " View (pl. 69).
C2608 " " " " " Archivolt: Christ and Angels (pl. 84).
C2609 " " " " " Two capitals (pl. 85).

Egypt.

- C2341 Tel el Amarna. View of the 'mangers.'
C2342 " " Autelopes carved on 'manger.'

- C2466 Tingad, gate of Tabessa.
 B 920 " latrines.

Eastern Adriatic.

- B8918 Cattaro, the church.
 B8919 Perasto : the episcopal palace.
 B8916 Pola, Forum with Temple of Augustus and Palazzo Comunale.
 B8923 " temple of Augustus, from behind.
 B8922 " triumphal arch.
 B8927 " Porta Caesarea, from W.
 B8928 " Basilica Urbana, steps of narthex.
 B8929 " block of architrave in the theatre.
 B8920 " the arcus, N.W. tower.
 B8921 " " arch and passage.
 B8924 Ragusa, the harbour.
 B8925 Salona, amphitheatre, E. entrance.
 B8926 " " S.W. portion of arena.
 B8910 Spalato : harbour, general view.
 B8902 " the palace, restored.
 B8912 " Golden Gate, exterior.
 B8903 " " " interior.
 B8904 " " " interior.
 B8906 " Mausoleum (cathedral) from N.E.
 B8911 " the peristyle, general view.
 B8905 " " and N. side of Mausoleum (cathedral).
 B8930 " a column lately cleared (1925).
 B8907 " Temple of Aesculapius (baptistery) and campanile.
 B8908 " " " " entrance.
 B8911 " " " " back pediment lately cleared (1925).
 B8913 " aqueduct.
 B8915 Trieste : S. Giusto, the campanile.
 B8932 " Roman arch from N.
 B8933 Zara : column in Piazza Dandolo.
 B8934 " " " " with adjacent foundations.
 B8935 " column in Piazza delle Erbe.

Gaul.

- B9084 Arles, the arena : general view of interior.
 B9085 " " Palace of Constantina, apse of baths.
 B 172 " the cemetery of Albamps.
 B 890 Nîmes, the amphitheatre.
 B 891 " Roman baths.
 B 892 " Temple of Diana, entrance.
 B 893 " " " interior.
 B 896 Orange, the theatre, exterior view.
 C 997 Pont du Gard, from the air.
 B 878 St. Rémy, the arch and monument.

Britain.

- B 784 The Peutinger Map : Kentish portion of Watling Street.
 B 785 " " Illustrative diagram.
 B 899 Blackstone Edge (Lanes), Roman road.
 B 796 Canterbury, St. Augustine's, Lothaire's epitaph.
 B 875 Chedworth, the Roman villa, hypocaust.
 B 867 " " " restoration and plan.
 C1265 Scarborough, Roman signal station.

Inscriptions.

- c2461 **Cnossos**, archaic Greek inscription.
 c2448 **Olympia**. Inscription recording the throw of Rybon. (Gardiner, *Olympia*, fig. 27.)
 c2562 **Sparta**: theatre, six inscribed blocks *in situ*.
 c2361 " inscription on bronze plate from theatre.

- B 877 **Cirancester**, so-called Roman cross-word.
 B 894 **Nîmes**: monuments to gladiators.
 B 895 " monuments to an Aedile and a Decurion.

MSS.

- B 791 **Cicero**, *De Republica* (with palimpsest of Augustin's commentary on Psalms).
 B 789 **Livy**, fifth-century msal.
 B 790 **Virgil**, *Georgics*, fourth century.

Prehellenic.

Sculpture, Modelling, etc.

- c2611 **Cnossos**: gesso relief, youthful male figure, with headdress of lilies, against a floral background.
 c2612 **Cnossos**: Ivory figure of a bull-fighter.
 c2356 **Predmost** (Moravia). Human head carved from thigh bone of a mammoth.
 c2267 " " " " " " (profile view).
 c2348 **Ur**. Copper relief: young bull.
 c2349 " Terra cotta figurines, masks, etc.

Pottery.

- B 786 **Alban Hills**, lint urns from the.
 c2352 **Cnossos**, votive vessel containing primitive image.
 c2313 **Mycenae**, alabaster vase with three large handles.
 c2347 **Peruvian** pottery from Chicama.
 c2380 **Sumerian** pottery from Kish.
 c2351 " " "

Painting.

- c2363 **Cnossos**: fresco, birds: detail of fresco in guest-house on Minoan road.

Gold Work.

- c2356 Funerary balance from Mycenae: restored (*J.H.S.*, xlv, fig. 40).
 c2311 Selection of gold discs from shaft graves, Mycenae.
 c2312 Gold cup with rosettes: (*Schliemann, Mycenae*, p. 234, fig. 344).

Gems, etc.

- c2387 Nestor's signet ring: drawing of impression (*J.H.S.*, xlv, fig. 55).
 c2372 Bull fighting scene (*J.H.S.*, xlv, pl. I, 1).
 c2373 Sacrifice of bull { " " 2).
 c2374 Lion tearing bull { " " 3).
 c2375 " " deer { " " 4).
 c2376 Hero spearing lion { " " 5).
 c2377 Seated goddess and attendants (*J.H.S.*, xlv, pl. II, 1).
 c2378 Goddess pouring libation { " " 2).
 c2379 " rising from earth { " " 3).
 c2380 " shooting hind { " " 4).
 c2381 " between swans { " " 5).

- c3282 Hero and sphinx in combat (*J.H.S.*, xlv, pl. III, 1).
 c3283 Combat of archers (" " 2).
 c3284 Vengeance on guilty lovers (" " 3).
 c3285 Combat between two warriors (" fig. 30).

Architectural Details.

- c3443 Archaic painted Ionic capital. Ath. Nat. Mus.
 c3600 Architectural terra-cottas from Acropolis of Sparta.
 c2449 " " " Villa Papa Ginlio.

Sculpture.

* = taken from original or adequate reproduction.

Fifth Century.

- c2623 Archaic bronze Athena from the Acropolis at Sparta (drawing).
 c2563 Warrior, found at Sparta: * head and torso.
 c2565 " " " * head (three-quarter face to right).
 c2570 " " " * left leg.
 c3249 Olympian pediment. Head of 'Klados' in profile.*
 c3246 Olympian Metope. Head of Athena from Metope of Stymphalian Birds * (Gardner, *Olympia*, frontispiece).
 c2446 Parthenon, E. pedt. 'Theseus' * (three-quarter face view).
 c3251 Amazon preparing to leap. Museo Capitolino.*

Fourth Century.

- c2338 Aphrodite of Chios. The B.M. head: full face.*
 c2339 " " " three-quarter face to right.*
 c2340 " " " profile to right.*
 c3263 Bronze statuette of a young athlete found in sea near Marathon.
 c2476 Marble figure * of the same type as the bronze ephebus from Marathon, B.M.
 c3253 The Apoxyomenos of Lysippos: profile view.*

Hellenistic and Roman.

- c2475 Bronze statuette: young recumbent wounded giant. B.M.*
 c3254 Group of Gaul and dying woman. Mus. Ludovisi, Rome.*
 c2361 Apollo citharoedus, as found at Leptis Magna.
 c3091 Vestal Virgin * from the Roman Forum.
 7331 Vestal Virgin.* Mus. Terme, Rome.
 c3255 A Roman charioteer.* Mus. Vat., Rome.
 7333 The 'Aedile.' Mus. Cap., Rome.
 c3914 Lower part of group of Emperor (?) and captive. Pola Mus.*

Reliefs, all periods.

- c2362 Babylonian relief. Chariot horses.*
 c3260 Stele of King Ur-Engur.* Ur.
 c3261 " " " " detail.
 c3250 Archaic male head * in profile (part of a stele). Ath. Nat. Mus. (!).
 c2463 Athena. Wall of Themistocles. Basil (showing athletes wrestling) *in situ*.
 c 780 Phidias stele from Argina * (Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs*, pl. 14).
 c2417 Relief of a mounted bearded cavalier.* Vatican (Collignon II, p. 146).
 c3252 Stele from Hissus * (Conze, No. 1055).
 c2420 Stele of Agacles.* Athens (Conze, No. 927).
 c2416 Female figure against a background of acanthus, surmounting a tomb.* Ath. Nat. Mus., 744 (Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs*, fig. 49).
 c 779 Stele of Aristonantes.* Athens, Ceramicus (Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs*, pl. 11).
 c3909 Late relief, a hunting scene.* Spalato Museum.

- C2474 Frieze from Aphrodisias * as re-erected in British Museum.
 B9657 Roman sarcophagus, * Phædra and Hippolytus. Arles Museum.

- 7330 Head of Brutus, * Naples Mus.

Decorative Bronze Work.

- C2625 Archaic bronzes from Acropolis at Sparta: animals and sphinx.
 C2626 Miscellaneous small archaic bronzes from Acropolis at Sparta.
 B 793 Angular band from Nemi.
 B 794 Bronze head of a wolf from Nemi.

Terra-cottas.

- C2354 Archaic terra-cotta head. Selinus.
 C2576 Archaic painted terra-cotta female head. Sparta.
 C 490 Statuette: faun blowing flute. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus.
 C 529 Terra-cotta relief: the Hippodrome, a chariot turning the post (B.M. Guide, fig. 62).
 C2621 Multiple Roman lamp from Acropolis at Sparta (drawing).

Vases.

* = view of original Vase.

† = adequate reproduction of the picture subject.

Black figured.

- C3174 Corinthian alabastron: * revellers (Hope Collection, No. 1).
 C3176 Weighing scene,† Amphora (Hope Collection, No. 13).

Red figured.

- C3137 Dionysos and Pan * (burlesqued). Krater (Hope Collection, No. 274).
 C3158 Maenad dancing before altar.* Krater (Hope Collection, No. 317).
 C3098 Eros pursuing youths.* Krater (Hope Collection, No. 296).
 C3061 Eros between Maenads and Satyrs * (Hope Collection, No. 140).
 C3012 Triptolemos between the goddesses.* Amphora (Hope Collection, No. 86).
 C3187-C3191 (5 slides) The rape of the Leukippidae,* (Hope Collection, No. 116).
 C 378 Greek hoplite and Persian standard-bearer,† Cylix. Louvre (Pottier, *Douris*, fig. 20).
 C3068 Warriors casting lots before statue.* Krater (Hope Collection, No. 149).
 C3028 Two countrymen.* Pelike (Hope Collection, No. 98).
 C3101 Domestic scene: * lady seated with maid and two boys. Krater (Hope Collection, No. 209).
 C3119 Lady dancing among floral decorations.* Pelike (Hope Collection, No. 241).

Mosaic.

- Constantinople. Mosaics of the Kaluryeh Mosque or Church of the Choras. From the *Atlas of the Bulletin of the Russian Archaeological Institute at Constantinople*.
 C2601 The Christ (pl. 1).
 C2602 Mary and the Infant Christ (pl. 20).
 C2603 Annunciation to St. Anne (pl. 21).
 C2604 Mary receiving the wool for weaving the veil of the Temple (pl. 28).
 C2605 Joseph and Mary on their way to Jerusalem (pl. 32).

Painting.

- C2355 Egypt, Graeco-Roman sarcophagus from the Fayum: male portrait head.
 C2356 " " " " " female portrait head.

- C3269 **Naturus**, fresco. Escape of St. Paul from Damascus.
 B 792 **Rome**, Porta Salaria Hypogeum. Birds at fountain.
 B 876 " " " " Artemia.

Coins.

- C2357 **Cnidus**. Obverse of imperial coin showing the Aphrodite of Praxiteles.
 C2300 **Cnoesos**. Minotaur and Theseus in Labyrinth (B.M. Cat., *Crete*, pl. iv, fig. 8).
 C2299 " Minoan and Labyrinth (B.M. Cat., *Crete*, pl. vi, fig. 9).
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- B9201 **Hadrian** K. I. Britannia.
 B9202 " E. 2. Britannia.
 B9203 " No. 1. Portraiture.
 B9204 " No. 2. Historical Types, various (Cohen, 162, 197, 514, 1081, 1084, 1087, 1108, 1147, 1321).
 B9205 **Hadrian** No. iii. Historical Types, various (Cohen, 491, 592, 673, 950, 1212, 1285, 1464).
 B9206 **Hadrian** No. iv. Historical Types, various (Cohen, 218, 337, 362, 379, 394, 461, 833, 893, 917, 1010, 1948, 1300).
 B9207 **Hadrian** No. v. Historical Types, *Provinciae* and *Armoes* (Cohen, 26, 200, 556, 802, 872, 1249).
 B9208 **Hadrian** No. vi. Historical Types, various (Cohen, 817, 1383, 1404, 1423, 1432, 1454, 1480).
 B9209 **Hadrian** No. vii. Historical Types, various (Cohen, 420, 913, 914, 942, 949, 1311, 1423, 1447).
 B9210 **Hadrian** No. viii. Historical Types, *Succession* Types (Cohen, 3, 350, 359, 778, 1008, 1204, (L. Aelius) 63).
 B9211 **Hadrian** No. ix. Historical Types, *Consecration* Types (Cohen, 128, 270 (Sabina) 28, 84; Hadrian, Trajan (Plotina), 2).
 B9212 **Republican Types** No. i. To illustrate chronology, c. 215-130 B.C. (Grueber, I, 564, 775, 891, 901, 941, 952, 1005).
 B9213 **Republican Types** No. ii. To illustrate mints, c. 125-115 A.C. (Grueber, I, 1186; II, 512, 532, 549, 550, 555, 620).
 B9214 **Republican Types** No. iii. To illustrate meaning of types (Grueber, I, 2716, 2839, 3358, 3884, 4100, 4204, 4206; II, 713).
 B9215 **Imperial Coins**. 3rd-6th Century A.D. Denominations.
 B9216 **Barbarian Coinages** of the West. 5th and 6th Centuries A.D.

Miscellaneous.

Greek.

- C3270 Bradfield: performance of Agamemnon.
 C3245 Soldiers of the Royal Guard (*temp.* King George) dancing.
 C3235 Group of shepherds at Stratos (Acarmania).
 C2444 Phedias at work on the Parthenon frieze (after Alma-Tadema).

Roman.

- B8901 A Roman galley under sail.
 B 795 Caligula's galley (after Mawin).
 B 898 Diagrammatic reconstruction of a hypocaust.
 C2445 A Gynaecium (after Boulanger).
 B 797 Roman dies and counters, from Ospringe, Kent.
 7332 Modes of hair-dressing (five heads in the Mus. Naz., Rome).
 B 798 Woman's hair found in stone coffin at York.

SETS OF SLIDES.

THE main collection of some 7000 lantern slides can be drawn on in any quantity, large or small, for lecturing on practically any branch of classical archaeology. For those who have opportunity, no method is so satisfactory as to come in person to the Library, and choose the slides from the pictures there arranged in a subject order.

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LIST OF SETS

- The Prehellenic Age (no text).
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- Olympia and Greek Athletics (E. N. Gardiner).
- Alexander the Great (D. G. Hogarth).
- The Travels of St. Paul (no text).
- The Ancient Theatre (J. T. Sheppard).
- Daily Life, Greek (no text).
- Daily Life, Roman (no text).
- Rome (H. M. Lest).
- The Roman Forum (G. H. Hallam).
- The Roman Forum, for advanced students (T. Ashby).
- The Palatine and Capitol (T. Ashby).
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NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

THE Council of the Hellenic Society having decided that it is desirable for a common system of transliteration of Greek words to be adopted in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the following scheme has been drawn up by the Acting Editorial Committee in conjunction with the Consultative Editorial Committee, and has received the approval of the Council.

In consideration of the literary traditions of English scholarship, the scheme is of the nature of a compromise, and in most cases considerable latitude of usage is to be allowed.

(1) All Greek proper names should be transliterated into the Latin alphabet according to the practice of educated Romans of the Augustan age. Thus α should be represented by *e*, the vowels and diphthongs, *υ*, *αι*, *ου*, *οι*, by *y*; *αε*, *οε*, and *υ* respectively, final *-ου* and *-ει* by *-us* and *-um*, and *-ος* by *-er*.

But in the case of the diphthong *ει*, it is felt that *ei* is more suitable than *e* or *i*, although in names like *Lodicea*, *Alexandria*, where they are consecrated by usage, *e* or *i* should be preserved; also words ending in *-ειος* must be represented by *-ium*.

A certain amount of discretion must be allowed in using the *o* terminations, especially where the Latin usage itself varies or prefers the *e* form, as *Delos*. Similarly Latin usage should be followed as far as possible in *-e* and *-a* terminations, e.g., *Priene*, *Smyrna*. In some of the more obscure names ending in *-ος*, as *Διάρπος*, *-er* should be avoided, as likely to lead to confusion. The Greek form *-ον* is to be preferred to *-o* for names like *Dion*, *Hieron*, except in a name so common as *Apollo*, where it would be pedantic.

Names which have acquired a definite English form, such as *Corinth*, *Athens*, should of course not be otherwise represented. It is hardly necessary to point out that forms like *Hercules*, *Mercury*, *Minerva*, should not be used for *Heracles*, *Hermes*, and *Athena*.

(2) Although names of the gods should be transliterated in the same way as other proper names, names of personifications and epithets such as *Nike*, *Homonoia*, *Hyakinthios*, should fall under § 4.

(3) In no case should accents, especially the circumflex, be written over vowels to show quantity.

(4) In the case of Greek words other than proper names, used as names of personifications or technical terms, the Greek form should be transliterated letter for letter, *k* being used for *κ*, *ch* for *χ*, but *y* and *u* being substituted for *υ* and *ου*, which are misleading in English, e.g., *Nike*, *aporyomenos*, *diadumenos*, *rhyton*.

This rule should not be rigidly enforced in the case of Greek words in common English use, such as *aegis*, *symposium*. It is also necessary to preserve the use of *ou* for *ου* in a certain number of words in which it has become almost universal, such as *boule*, *gerousia*.

(5) The Acting Editorial Committee are authorised to correct all MSS. and proofs in accordance with this scheme, except in the case of a special protest from a contributor. All contributors, therefore, who object on principle to the system approved by the Council, are requested to inform the Editors of the fact when forwarding contributions to the Journal.

In addition to the above system of transliteration, contributors to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* are requested, so far as possible, to adhere to the following conventions:—

Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus:

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34,

or—

Six, *Prologenes* (*Jahrb.* xviii. 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line; e.g. *Dittenb. Syll.*² 123.

Tables of Periodical and Collective Publications.

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

- A.-E.M.* = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen.
Ann. d. I. = Annali dell' Istituto.
Arch. Anz. = Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).
Arch. Zeit. = Archäologische Zeitung.
Ath. Mith. = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abtheilung.
Baumelster = Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Alterthums.
B.C.H. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
Berl. Vas. = Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.
B.M. Bronzes = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.
B.M.C. = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.
B.M. Inscr. = Greek inscriptions in the British Museum.
B.M. Vases = British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.
B.S.A. = Annual of the British School at Athens.
Bull. d. I. = Bollettino dell' Istituto.
C.I.G. = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.I.L. = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Cl. Rev. = Classical Review.
C.R. Acad. Inscr. = Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
Dar.-Sagl. = Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.
Dittenh. Syll. = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.
Ep. 'Apx. = Ἐπεὶ Ἰστορίας Ἀρχαιογραφίας.
G.D.I. = Gollits, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.
Gerh. A.V. = Gerhard, Auserlesene Vasenbilder.
G.G.A. = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
I.G. = Inscriptiones Graecae.¹
I.G.A. = Rühl, Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae.
Jahrb. = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
Jahresh. = Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes.
J.H.S. = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
Le Bas-Wadd. = Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.
Michel = Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.
Mon. d. I. = Monumenti dell' Istituto.
Müller-Wies. = Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.
Mus. Marbles = Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.
Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt. = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Alterthum.
Neue Jahrb. Phil. = Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.

¹ The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the *Corpus of Greek Inscriptions*, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows:—

- | | | | |
|-------------|------|---|---|
| <i>I.G.</i> | I. | = | Inscr. Atticae anno Euclydis restoratione. |
| " | II. | = | " Aetolia quae est inter Eacly ann. et Augusti tempora. |
| " | III. | = | " Aetolia Romanae. |
| " | IV. | = | Argolicae. |
| " | VII. | = | Megacenis et Boeotiae. |
| " | IX. | = | Graeciae Septentrionalis. |
| " | XII. | = | Insul. Maris Aegaei praeter Delum. |
| " | XIV. | = | Italiae et Siciliae. |

Num. Chr. = Numismatic Chronicle.

Num. Zeit. = Numismatische Zeitschrift.

Pauly-Wissowa = Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.

Philol. = Philologia.

Rev. Arch. = Revue Archéologique.

Rev. Et. Gr. = Revue des Études Grecques.

Rev. Num. = Revue Numismatique.

Rev. Philol. = Revue de Philologie.

Rh. Mus. = Rheinisches Museum.

Röm. Mitt. = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abtheilung.

Roscher = Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.

T.A.M. = Tituli Asiae Minoris.

Z.f. N. = Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

Transliteration of Inscriptions.

- [] Square brackets to indicate additions, i.e. a lacuna filled by conjecture.
- () Curved brackets to indicate alterations, i.e. (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.
- < > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, i.e. to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.
- . . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.
- - - Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known.

Uncertain letters should have dots under them.

Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.

The aspirate, if it appears in the original, should be represented by a special sign, ʰ.

Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following important exceptions:—

- () Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.
- [[]] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.
- < > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

The Editors desire to impress upon contributors the necessity of clearly and accurately indicating accents and breathings, as the neglect of this precaution adds very considerably to the cost of production of the *Journal*.

‘THE RING OF NESTOR’: A GLIMPSE INTO THE MINOAN AFTER-WORLD

AND
A SEPULCHRAL TREASURE OF GOLD SIGNET-RINGS AND BEAD-SEALS
FROM THISBÊ, BOEOTIA

PART I

SEPULCHRAL TREASURE OF GOLD SIGNET-RINGS AND BEAD-SEALS FROM THISBÊ, BOEOTIA.

THE first subject of the present communication is a truly royal treasure of gold rings and of bead-seals in the same metal found in a Mycenaean rock tomb near the site of Thisbê in Boeotia. The find was made in 1915, at a time when war conditions diverted the course of discovery from official channels, and a fortunate chain of circumstances now enables me not only to describe but to exhibit to the Society the whole hoard. Under the circumstances it is impossible without a breach of confidence to give all the details, but, from what I have been able to ascertain, the discovery was made by a peasant in a chamber-tomb excavated in the rock, by the village of Dombrena. Near this spot, about a quarter of an hour N.W. of Kakosi, on the Akropolis height of Thisbê, Mr. W. A. Heurtley, of the British School at Athens, kindly informs me that he was shown, in an olive grove, three chamber-tombs with *dromoi*. He adds, ‘The old man who showed me had dug one completely and found a dagger and vases and some sherds, all of which he had lost.’ Mr. Heurtley adds, however, that, from a drawing that the old man made of one of the vases, it is clear that it was a stirrup-vase of late type.

Other objects that I myself was able either to see or secure, found in the same group of tombs, but not authenticated as coming from the chamber containing the treasure, were bronze spear-heads and a short sword with the flange running round the extremity of the hilt, belonging to a very late Mycenaean type.¹ A bronze razor also occurred of an advanced form and, of still later date presumably, a small perforated double-axe head of iron. There were also found a whole set of perforated glass-paste objects with holes below for the attachment of pendant gold disks which Mr. Wace has now conclusively shown to belong to necklaces. The particular type found as well as certain paste pendants with reliefs covered with gold foil, belongs to the date of the Dimini jewels, or early L.M. III. b, in Minoan terms. There is no difficulty in ascribing the radiated glazed clay heads (Fig. 1, a) and the hugh bead of *kyanos* blue paste (Fig. 1, d), as well as the plated faience plaques with groups of palms in relief (Fig. 1, k), to the same epoch.

On the other hand, a miniature oenochos of rock crystal with its handle perforated for suspension (Fig. 1, g) has a much earlier history, one very similar

¹ A single example of this type was found in the Zafes-Papoura Cemetery at Knossos (*Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, Pl. XCI. Fig. 199, 95c), and others in the very late interment of Muliand (Es. ‘Apx.).

1904, p. 29). In Mainland Greece they are of frequent occurrence; see Nais, *Die Vorhistorischen Schwestern*, p. 10, Taf. v. 3; Tsountas, *Es. ‘Apx.*, 1897, Pl. VIII. 4 (Mycenae).

in variegated limestone having been found in the Hagios Onaphrios Deposit,² presumably not later therefore than the beginning of the Middle Minoan Age. A derivative gold type, however, persists to the latest Mycenaean times.³ Cut out of the same quality of rock crystal and probably belonging to the same *parure*, is an elegant pendant with a quatrefoil section resembling, though without the drop at the lower end, beads of the lapis lazuli necklace found in the Royal Tomb at Isopata. An amber bead, probably of L.M. I a date⁴ (Fig. 1, *h*), is of special interest as similar in form to the perforated amber objects—set wheel-fashion in two circlets of gold wire—deposited with the great gold ring, jewellery and other precious relics in the bronze cauldron

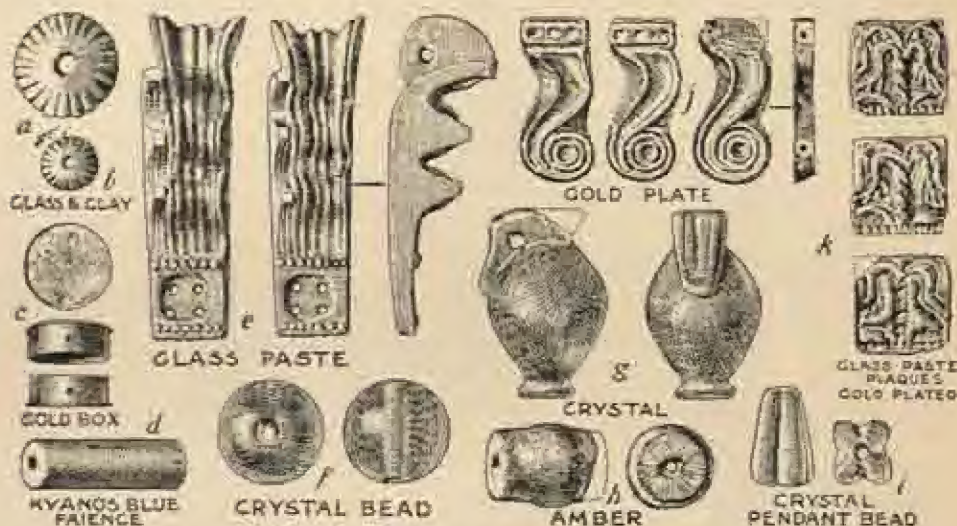


FIG. 1.—OBJECTS FROM THIRAKIA TOMBS.

found at Tiryns in 1915.⁵ The date of the 'Tiryns Treasure' must on various grounds be set down to the early part of L.M. III. (Myc. III. *a*).

Of exquisite fabric is a minute gold box of circular form, flat at top and bottom, only 13 mm. in diameter and 5 mm. in height (Fig. 1, *c*). The lid, which covers the whole of the sides, has two lateral perforations corresponding with two others in the walls of the recipient, so that it could be secured by passing a wire or thread through it and could thus be strung on a necklace. It may, like a modern locket, have held some precious relic. Cylindrical-lidded boxes or 'pyxides' both of clay and marble have a very early history both in Crete and the Cyclades, and we find the type reproduced in gold in the Third Shaft Grave at Mycenae,⁶ the latest elements of which are L.M. I a, though the overlap of the cover over the receptacle is in this case less, and the cover

² A. E. H. Onaphrios Deposit (Supplement to *Cretan Pictographs*, etc.), Quatitch, 1895, p. 112, Fig. 99.

³ Miniature oenochorae in gold occurred at Dimini and Menidi, and also at Amos. This later type has a flat back.

⁴ Gold beads similar to another characteristic type of this necklace were found

in a L.M. I a larnax at Pyrgos near Rastli Kasteli, Crete. (To be described in my *Palace of Minos*, Vol. II, § 35.)

⁵ A. Philadelphos, *Arch. Anaktor*, II, *Thirakia*, p. 13 *segg.* and p. 17, Fig. 3.

⁶ Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 205, Fig. 318, and p. 207, Fig. 321.

has a small loop. There is no reason for doubting the statement that this miniature gold box was found in the same tomb at Thiesbê as the gold rings and engraved bead-seals to be described below.

The name Thiesbê is itself of pre-Hellenic origin⁷ and recurs in the Cilician spring that gave its name to the nymph beloved of Pyramos, whose name in turn has further Anatolian connexions. The important part which this place, with its harbour town at Vathy, must have played in the economy of Minoan and Mycenaean Greece is self-evident. It represents, in fact, the natural haven on the northern shore of the Gulf for the transport route which linked the land routes between Mycenae and the early representative of the port of Kenchiree on the one side and a Boeotian line by way of Thespiæ to Thebes on the other. The track of the old high-road from Mycenae as it winds its way from near the Lion's Gate over the foot of the hills towards Kleonæ is still discernible.⁸ Future researches may yet reveal the traces of its continuation on the Boeotian side.

DESCRIPTION OF THE OBJECTS.

The intaglios belong to the following classes :—

- (a) Three bead-seals of the type described as 'flattened cylinders.'
- (b) A large signet ring with an exceptionally large oval bezel.
- (c) Another, smaller, with a slightly elongated oval bezel, rather flat.
- (d) Five sub-oval or 'amygdaloid' bead-seals with an exceptionally flat surface.
- (e) Three elongated oval bead-seals of abnormal size and with the engraved surface considerably bossed.

The subjects of these thirteen intaglios may be roughly classed as (1) episodes of the bull-ring; (2) lions seizing their quarry; (3) religious scenes; (4) scenes belonging to a heroic cycle. In several cases we see successive compositions belonging to a connected group, and in many of the intaglios we may recognise in minute details the handiwork of the same engraver.

It is probable that the group included in class (a), of 'flattened cylinders,' is of a somewhat earlier date than the others and may well have belonged to an earlier interment. But the others must be set down as contemporary works, and the inter-connexions are of such a kind that they may with great probability be regarded as having belonged to the two individuals represented by the man's and the woman's ring described below. Most of them would have formed part of the lady's *parure*. We are almost bound to conclude that this remarkable group of artistically engraved gold signets, far exceeding in number the examples of such objects found in the whole of the Shaft Graves of Mycenæ, belonged to personages of royal rank.

Apart from the extraordinary revelations of Minoan and Mycenaean religion provided by some of the subjects and scenes, which, as it will be shown, carry the tales connected in classical times with Oedipus some seven centuries back on Boeotian soil, such a collection of precious works might

⁷ G. Fick, *Vergriechische Ortsnamen*, pp. 81, 123.

⁸ Steffen, *Karten von Mykenai*, Erläuternder Text, p. 9.

well give pause to any archaeologist. Are all or any of them liable to the suspicion of falsification? It is therefore well to say at the outset that in my own judgment, which is at any rate based on over fifty years' experience in such matters, there is no legitimate ground for suspecting the authenticity of any one of them. A very careful examination both of the style of the work, the details of the fabric and the state in which the objects presented themselves left no room for any other conclusion. As an archaeologist exceptionally familiar through practical experience with Minoan and Mycenaean intaglios, both published and unpublished, I submitted the series to Mr. R. B. Seager for his critical examination, and he has expressed his unhesitating

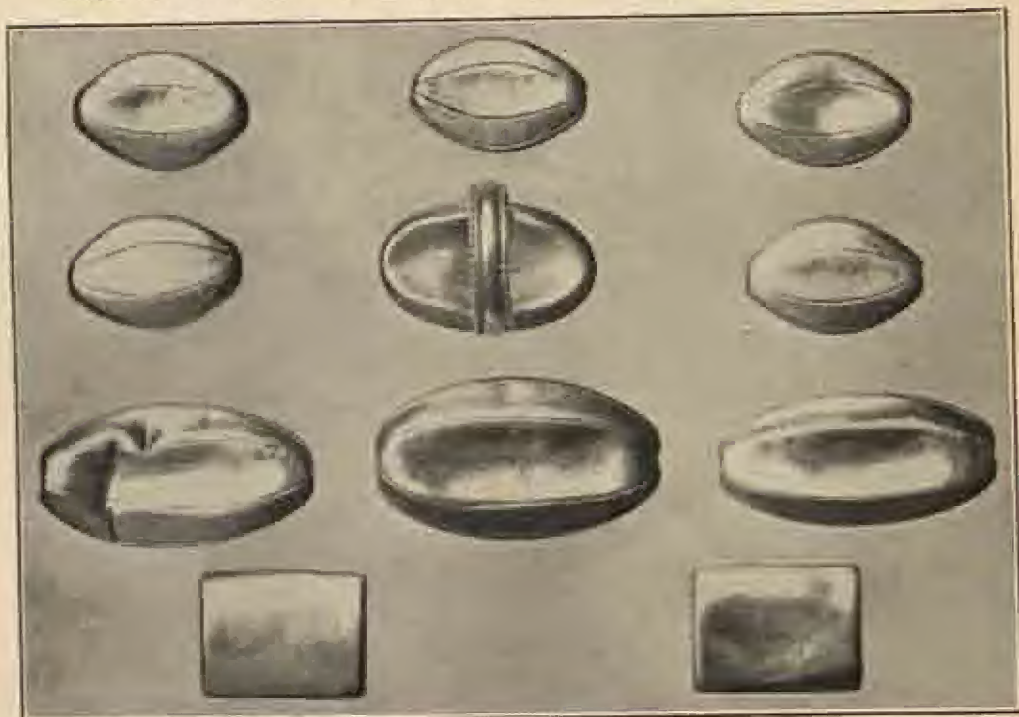


FIG. 2.—SMALLER RINGS AND BEAD-SEALS AS SEEN BELOW.

opinion that the whole are genuine. For a practical test I also submitted the objects to Mr. W. H. Young of the Ashmolean Museum, whose technical knowledge in such matters is very extensive, and he again came to the conclusion that there was no opening for doubt. It will be shown below, moreover, that the different groups form a kind of catena within themselves which makes it inadmissible to separate individual specimens for condemnation.

Happily, however, the question of the authenticity of these objects does not rest on judgments which might be regarded as of a subjective nature. In the detailed analysis given below of the scenes on the intaglios it will be shown that they present authentic features that no forger could have known of in 1915, the date at which the 'Treasure' first saw the light. The attachment of the 'sacral knots' to a scene of the *Tauromachia* on No. 1 is an illustration of this in a matter of detail. In the libation scene on No. 7, on the

other hand, a whole religious ritual is supplied which was totally unknown up to the time of the discovery in 1922 of a clay seal impression from a deposit in the Palace of Knossos with a closely parallel type. To have designed this gold bead-seal the forger must have been endowed with truly prophetic knowledge!

The pressure to which these objects had been subjected, owing probably to the collapse of the roof above, is well illustrated in the view of the lower faces of the bead-seals given in Fig. 2. It is not unnatural that the highly bossed specimens of Class (c) have suffered most. The lower plate of No. 7 is not only contorted but actually broken, showing that the interior was hollow; there was, indeed, evidently some cavity, even in the case of the flatter form of beads included in Class (d). The general impression conveyed by a back view of the jewels is that they had all been exposed to similar conditions in their sepulchral resting-place (Fig. 2).

DESCRIPTION OF THE OBJECTS.

I. BEAD SEALS OF 'FLATTENED CYLINDER' TYPE (Nos. 1-3.)

Intaglios of this form already begin to appear in M.M. II., and are very characteristic of the closing Middle Minoan phase, continuing into the First Late Minoan Period. From that time onwards they became rarer, and finally are only used in a purely decorative fashion.

The three specimens from the Thissá Treasure are of solid make, and the style of the intaglio alone would sufficiently indicate that they are of somewhat earlier date than the others. The incision is shallow and exceptionally delicate, and the special costume that marks the men in the other series does not appear. This, however, may be explained by the fact that the two male figures here seen stand in connexion with the *Taurokathapsia* or bull-grappling sports. The stark-nakedness, except for the girdle, of the figure on No. 1, is itself unexampled. In shape and style as well as in their solid material these three bead-seals fit on to the similar group of three specimens found in the Third Shaft Grave at Mycenæ,⁹ which contained three women's skeletons. The latest ceramic element connected with that interment is a vase,¹⁰ probably imported from Crete, of the L.M. I. a (Myc. I. a) style.



FIG. 1.—SCENE OF TAUROKATHAPSIÁ. (1)

No. 1, Pl. I. 1, Fig. 3. Weight 9.80 gm. Scene of *Taurokathapsia*, with 'Sacral Knot.'²

In this design we see the animal apparently galloping, though the position is contracted by the squared end of the head. His head is turned back and

⁹ Schliemann, *Mycenæ*, p. 174, Figs. 253-255.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 209, Fig. 324. Fort-

wángler, *Myk. Thongefässe*, Pl. IV, Fig. 19. A L.M. I. Vase of identical shape has been found at Hagia Triada (Claudia Museum).

lowered, and his mouth open as if in the act of bellowing defiance at his aggressor, who rolls on the ground beneath. The youth below, who has missed his mark and been thrown by the bull, is seen with one hand apparently endeavouring to break his fall, and with the other raised above his head as if to guard it. His long locks stream behind him from the motion of his fall, and he is entirely naked except for his girdle, showing the sexual organs, an unique phenomenon in Minoan art, except in the case of young children.

Of great significance is the appearance in front of the galloping beast of a symmetrically arranged pair of 'sacral knots' such as are worn by the



FIG. 4.—SCENE OF TAUROKATHAPSIA WITH 'SACRAL KNOTS,' ON SIGNET-RING FROM SMYRNA.



FIG. 5.—SCENE OF TAUROKATHAPSIA WITH 'SACRAL KNOT,' FROM ARKHANES. (1)

Goddess and her female votaries. To the importance of this symbol as an indication of the religious character of these sports I have already¹¹ called attention in connexion with the design on another Minoan signet-ring here reproduced (Fig. 4). Another very fine signet-ring of solid gold recently found near Arkhanes, inland of Knossos (Fig. 5), also representing a scene of the Taurokathapsia, shows a single sacral knot in front of the bull.¹²

¹¹ See *Palace of Minos*, I. p. 450 *seqq.*

¹² The knot here had been slightly damaged and required in ancient times.

These sacral knots appear on the shoulders of the Goddess and her votaries. They were not only suspended from her lion-guarded pillar, but are seen decoratively combined with her double-axe symbol. In what seems to have been a sacerdotal house, devoted to propaganda of the cult, discovered at Niru Khani, east of Candia, and containing huge ritual double-axes of bronze,¹³ a fresco of the main corridor depicts a large sacral knot of the same kind, here for the first time restored in Fig. 7.¹⁴

But, as already noted, when the Thushê relics first saw



FIG. 6.—SACRIFICE OF BULL. (f)

the light in 1915 none of the evidence connecting the double knots with the bull-grappling scenes was as yet available.¹⁵ Neither indeed had the true character of the symbol itself received recognition.

No. 2, Pl. I. 2, Fig. 6. Weight 7.32 gm.

Ritual Sacrifice of Bull by Priest.

A bull is here seen at a slow gallop while a youth behind steps forward and plunges a dagger between his shoulders. The man's left arm¹⁶ is thrown out behind him, the dagger sheath is slung over his shoulders, and he wears the Minoan foot-gear. He is, moreover, characterised by two remarkable features: He appears to be wearing some kind of wreath, and the two long locks that are seen hanging down behind his armpits terminate in star-shaped ornaments. These insignia seem to be marks of some official position.

The appearance of a *matador* is a novel feature among the scenes of the Minoan bull-ring, and when we recall the religious intention of these



FIG. 7.—SACRAL KNOT FROM WALL-PAINTING, NIRU KHANI (RESTORED).

¹³ Dr. Xanthoudides, *Ép. Arch.*, 1922 p. 11, Fig. 6.

¹⁴ From a restored drawing presented for me by Monsieur E. Gillieron, *ibid.* The excavator had not at the time understood the significance of the fragments.

¹⁵ The ring (Fig. 4), though obtained from Smyrna some years previously, was

only published by me in 1921. The material is bronze, originally plated. The Arkhane ring is a quite recent discovery, said to have been made by a peasant woman in a chamber-tomb ('*eréon*').

¹⁶ As seen on the gold signet itself. In the impression he appears using the dagger with his left hand.

sports,—well symbolised in the preceding scene by the 'sacral knot,'—it seems permissible to regard the action of the personage here represented as of a sacrificial nature. This, in fact, is the final act of the performance, in which a successful bull-grappler, here invested with priestly insignia, slaughters the chosen beast before the altar. We learn, indeed, from the miniature fresco of Knossos that a small temple of the Goddess overlooked the arena where such sports took place.

It looks, indeed, as if an actual survival of such a practice may be found (where we should most naturally have sought it) in a ritual sacrifice to the local Zeus at Miletos—itself the reputed colony of the homonymous Cretan town, rich in Minoan relics—and which was at the same time a centre of survival of the kindred Carian stock. Its sanctuary at Didyma, indeed, preserves a record of Cretan traditions in the shape of an inner staircase with a marble ceiling presenting a huge relief of a maeander, inscribed $\Lambda\alpha\beta\upsilon\pi\iota\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$.¹⁷ It is not then surprising to find that the adjoining *temenos* of the local Zeus Soter was the scene of a festival in which an ox was sacrificed before the altar of Zeus Hyetios by the winner in a contest known as the *Bovyaia*, and who himself bore the name of *Bovvys*.¹⁸ That this contest had involved a 'cow-boy' feat seems to be a fair conclusion. By the time to which the inscriptions belong that relate to this festival, the object of the sacrifice was naturally no longer the Goddess but her Son.

No. 3, Pl. I. 3, Fig. 8. Weight 6.61 gm. **Lion Seizing Galloping Bull.**

A lion who has sprung at the shoulders of a galloping bull seizes on his neck vertebrae with his teeth—a paralyzing action known to all beasts of prey—and bears his great quarry down. This, in itself, is a constantly recurring subject of Minoan and Mycenaean art, of which we see a variant form in the lion seizing a deer on the Mycenae dagger-blade. In the present case, however, there is a remarkable adjunct. On both the hind- and the fore-legs of the lion are visible double rings which must be taken to show that the animal

¹⁷ B. Haussoullier, *Rev. Philologique*, 1903, p. 265, and *Didyma*, p. 33, etc.; Wiegand, *Abh. d. Berliner Akad.*, 1911, p. 45, and cf. 1908, p. 25; R. C. Bosanquet, *Recent Excavations in Miletus* (Dublin Lecture), and cf. my *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 359.

¹⁸ A connexion between the *Bovyaia* and the *Tasposandria* had already been suggested by Quishall, *Antiquitates Asiaticae* (1728), p. 94, No. 7 and note. B. Haussoullier, indeed, *Mélanges Henry Weil* (1898), p. 146 *seqq.*, puts forward the contrary view that the *Bovyaia* was simply the transfer of the ox which won the acceptance of the college of priests, and envisages a ceremony in Coa (Paton and Hicks, *Inscriptions of Coa*, No. 37) in which the priests made their choice among oxen driven before them on behalf of the three tribes. But the repeated formula of the Didyma inscriptions, BOHPIAI

NIKHCANTOC (see *Mélanges Weil*, p. 148), surely indicates something more than this. The modification of the contest in favour of mere oxen in place of half-wild bulls is only what might have been expected in the course of centuries. F. Rehtel, moreover (*Nachrichten d. k. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1899, pp. 34, 35), has pointed out that the phrase Tasposandria (*Attica, Tasposandria*) of a Thessalian inscription relating to the *Tasposandria* (H. G. Lolling, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst. in Athen.*, vii. (1882) 346a) explains the *avayia* of numerous North Greek inscriptions. Here we have just the same devotion from *taspos* to *deia*. In any case the widespread traces of the Minoan bull-grappling sports have placed the matter on a wholly new basis since the date when Haussoullier expressed his views.

had been kept in captivity and let out for the express purpose of attacking the bull. In other words, this, like the scenes in which men and bulls perform, belongs to the circus, and we have not to do with a wild lion. The proof here afforded, that the Minoan or Mycenaean lords kept caged lions for the purposes of spectacles in the arena, goes far to explain the familiarity of the Minoan artists with the animal, which certainly was never wild in Crete. Nor, indeed, in spite of the mention of lions in Thrace in the days of Xerxes' expedition, is there any reasonable probability of their having inhabited the Morea in Mycenaean days. The lion of Nemea cannot itself count more than the hydra of Lerna. On the other hand, with their wide relations east and south, it is quite allowable to suppose that the Minoan or Mycenaean hunters may have met with lions either on the Anatolian or the Libyan side.



FIG. 8.—LION SEIZING BULL. (†)



FIG. 9.—LION SEIZING FALLOW-DEER. (†)

II. FINGER-RINGS (Nos. 4 and 5).

No. 4, Pl. I. 4, from impression (†); Pl. IV., from direct photograph from ring enlarged 4 diams. Fig. 9. Large signet-ring. Weight 23.25 gm.

Lion Seizing Stag.

This magnificent ring, a back view of which is given in Fig. 10, is of exceptionally large size. The dimensions of the bezel—36 by 29 mm.—are

somewhat greater than those of the large signet from Mycenae (34×25 mm.). They cannot, however, compare with those of the great signet-ring from the Tiryns 'Treasure,' which amount to 56 mm. in width by 33 in height. The hoop is somewhat bent but its average inner diameter is about 20.5 mm., which represents full man's size. It presents a great contrast to the succeeding example, No. 5, which was clearly made for a woman's finger. The surface of the bezel, though it cannot be described as worn, bears evidence of considerable use.

The group of the lion seizing a stag on this ring combines great strength with extraordinary finesse, the lines of hair, for instance, on the animals' flanks being quite microscopically rendered. The composition itself is admirable and the exact adaptation of the design to the oval space of the ring shows consummate skill. This close conformation of the figures on intaglio to the field at the engraver's disposal is itself a mark of a somewhat advanced glyptic stage, and is already a characteristic of gems belonging to the closing L.M. I. phase, as illustrated by examples from the Vaphio tomb.¹⁸ The style is, in fact, appreciably later than that of the three preceding head-seals of the 'flattened cylinder' type, Nos. 1-3. We notice indeed a distinct advance on the somewhat stiff rendering of the



FIG. 10.—LARGE SIG-
NET-RING. (1)

analogous subject depicting a lion seizing a bull, seen on No. 3.

In this case the lion has seized the shoulder of the stag and at the same time has gripped one of the haunches with his near hind-leg. The tongue of the unfortunate stag protrudes from his mouth. The antlers are somewhat sketchily rendered, but the palmation that is visible sufficiently shows that we have here to deal with a fallow deer (*Cervus dama*), which is almost the only kind of deer shown on Minoan or Mycenaean intaglios,¹⁹—in itself a significant circumstance, since this species is confined to Crete and to the south-easternmost Aegean islands. There is, indeed, no evidence of it having existed in a wild state at any period in Mainland Greece, where the typical stag has always been the red deer (*Cervus elaphus*). This, however, does not mean more than that the Mycenaean art type was taken over from Minoan Crete, and it is quite possible and indeed, from its associations, probable, that this signet-ring was the work of a Minoan artist working in Mainland Greece. The stags of the Tiryns treasure,²⁰ certainly executed on the spot, with their cruciform dapples and palmated horns, are clearly fallow deer.

¹⁸ Good examples relating to animals may be seen in Vaphio gems, *Es. App.* 1889, Pl. X, 4, 14, and 21.

¹⁹ Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, iii. 52, n. 1, refers to a Mycenaean gem in the Bourguignon Collection with two red deer lying side by side. O. Koller, moreover, *Fier und Pflanzenbilder*, etc., p. 105 (cf. Pl. XVII. 18), in reproducing the stag on the amethyst intaglio from the Third Shaft Grave at Mycenae (mis-referred to

as jasper), describes it as a red deer. Its dappled flanks, nevertheless, are clear and its horns seem to be palmated. Furtwängler, *A.G.* ii. 11, rightly describes it as a 'spotted fallow-deer' ('gelblicher Damhirsch').

²⁰ Rodonwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. Pls. XV., XVI., Figs. 60, 61, 62, and p. 149 seqq., and compare his note (l. p. 151) on the stag types of Minoan and Mycenaean gems.

No. 5, Pl. II. 1, Fig. 11. Weight 10.90 gm. Small signet-ring.
Seated Goddess and 'ΔΙΑΣΚΟΥΡΑΙ.'

This signet-ring is of smaller dimensions.²¹ The hoop was much crushed (see Fig. 2), but its original inner diameter, 17 mm., corresponds with that of



FIG. 11.—SEATED GODDESS AND 'ΔΙΑΣΚΟΥΡΑΙ.' (1)

ladies' rings of various periods,²² and is nearly 2 mm. less than the average male diameter; it offers a striking contrast to that with the lion and stag described above. We may therefore infer that this ring formed part of a female *parure*.



FIG. 12.—GOLD SIGNET-RING FROM ACROPOLIS TREASURY, MYCENAE.²³ (1)

Here we see the Goddess seated on a throne or stool, showing traces of a festoon between its legs. She is coiled in a kind of triple tiara with a long

²¹ Its bore is 29 x 17 mm.

²² A series of female rings, mediæval and renaissance, including English, French and Italian examples, examined by me presented an average inner diameter of 17 mm. within a minute fraction. The average of

men's rings, English, was 18 mm.; of Roman (seven specimens) 19 mm.; of Greek (seven specimens) 18.5 mm.

²³ From a photograph kindly given me by Dr. G. Karo.

lock of hair hanging down behind. She wears an open, apparently short-sleeved, bodice, leaving the bosom bare, and the upper part of her flounced skirt is richly embroidered with what seems to have been a spiraliform design. Her fore-arms are raised and she holds poppy capsules similar to those seen in the hands of the Spring Goddess rising from the earth on the bead-seal No. 6 below. In this case they are held with their heads downwards, so that the seed could be shed, and are thus an emblem of fertilization.

Behind the Goddess a little handmaiden repeats her action with two pairs of suspended capsules, while another, standing immediately in front of her, offers with her right hand two more poppy-heads held upright on their stalks, while in her left she holds what looks like a bead necklace. Behind this figure again is a seated attendant, of the same stature as the Goddess, such as is frequently seen in her company.²² She extends with her right hand a small chaplet, perhaps a beaded bracelet, towards the Goddess, and what seems to be a pomegranate is held within the fingers of her left.

Between the two main figures the upper margin of the field is intersected by a succession of waving lines. This in itself cannot fail to recall the waving lines that cut off the upper part of the field on the great signet of Mycenae (Fig. 12), and contain above their curve a rayed disk and crescent representing the heavenly luminaries. In the present case, perhaps owing to the comparative narrowness of the bezel, there are no heavenly luminaries within the waved lines, but the analogy is otherwise so close, that we are justified in regarding them as indicative of the sky and as signifying the celestial character of the divinity below. In No. 9 below, indeed, where the Goddess stands holding two swans, this lacuna is supplied by the appearance on either side of her of a disk and a star.

But the parallelism between the present group and that of the Mycenae signet goes much further. In that case, too, the seated Goddess, whose character is there marked by the double-axe as well as by the celestial symbols, holds poppy-heads presented to her by a votary. On the Mycenae ring, moreover, she is accompanied on either side by a little girl attendant answering to the two little handmaidens, though their stature is somewhat lower than that of the pair seen on the Thibé group.²⁴ The children on the Mycenae signet are perched on piles of stones, evidently devised in order to enable them to perform their duties—in one case to offer sprays to the Goddess, in the other to pluck fruit for her from the tree beneath which she sits.²⁵

The significance of these two little figures has not been hitherto noted, but it is now possible to point to their recurrence in association with the Goddess on a series of Minoan and Mycenaean seal types. On a seal-impression found at Hagia Triada we see a flounced figure, in which we may with great probability recognise the same Goddess, with a diminutive handmaiden in similar

²² Compare the scene on No. 7, p. 17, Fig. 19, and the seated Goddess and companion on the 'Ring of Nestor,' p. 63, Fig. 55, etc.

²⁴ The height of these is not equal, but the smaller size of one is accounted for by the conditions of space on the outer border

of the bezel. Other examples of the same divine pair show that normally they were depicted of equal height.

²⁵ There seems to be no reason to read any particular religious sense into these heaps. They are really part of the mechanism of the scene.

flounced skirts on either side of her, standing before a pillar shrine containing a sacred tree²⁶ (Fig. 13). Both the Goddess and her child companions hold their hands near their sides in a curious attitude which recurs in other versions of the same group, and finds a parallel in a figure of the Goddess on a gold



FIG. 13.—GODDESS AND GIRL ATTENDANTS BEFORE SHRINE:
SEAL IMPRESSION, H. TRIADA. (1)



FIG. 14.—GODDESS AND GIRL ATTENDANTS.
LESTOID HEAD-SEAL, PEDRADA. (1)



FIG. 15.—GODDESS WEARING SACRAL
KNOTS AND GIRL ATTENDANTS.
LESTOID HEAD-SEAL, MYCENAE. (1)

signet-ring from Mycenae, where a male attendant pulls down towards her the fruit-laden branches of a tree, seen, as here, within its pillar sanctuary. In that case I have ventured to compare a hunger gesture known to primitive races.²⁷ A similar group of figures with the Goddess in the same attitude

²⁶ P. Halbherr, *Mon. Ant.* xii. (1903), p. 43, Fig. 37 and Pl. VI.

²⁷ *Myc. Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 79, Fig. 53, and note 2. I compared the common gesture for hunger among the North American Indians made "by passing the hands towards and backwards from the

sides of the body, denoting a gnawing sensation." Cf. Garrick Mallory, *Photographs of the North American Indians* (Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1884), p. 226, and Fig. 155, p. 235, the celebrated rock painting on the Tule River, California.

recurs on a black steatite lentoid²⁸ from the Pedada district east of Knossos (Fig. 14). What is substantially the same group recurs in a cornelian lentoid recently found at Mycenae, and here the central figure wears on both shoulders a sacral knot (Fig. 15). We may safely place in the same category also the two little handmaidens who are seen tending the couchant lion, the guardian of the Lower World on the 'Ring of Nestor,' described below, in the next compartment to that in which the Goddess is seated.²⁹ That the same religious tradition continued to the latest Minoan times is shown by the remarkable occurrence on the altar ledge of the little 'Shrine of the Double-Axes'—side by side with the main figure of the Goddess with a dove on her head—of two smaller female images, like the other cylindrical below,³⁰ each with her head half-turned round and evidently, in their original position, gazing at the Lady of the Dove.

Were these little twin companions and ministrants simply handmaidens of the Goddess? Were they perhaps her daughters? In any case we see the Minoan *Di* associated with a youthful pair of *Διάσκουραι*, even as Zeus, who ousted her from her old position, was associated with the *Διάσκουροι*. Without for a moment disputing the Aryan affinities of these latter and their obvious parallelism, especially in their equestrian capacity, with the *Agvins*—the *Dio napata* of the Vedas—it is by no means impossible that in this, as in other cases, some assimilation with pre-Hellenic elements may have taken place.³¹ In the case of the *Καῦροι*, better known in the old Cretan religion—the *Kouretes* or *Korybantes* who guarded Rhea and tended the infant Zeus—if we may judge from the Attolian tradition preserved by Strabo, there seems to have been a haunting sense of female antecedents.³² So too in a fragment of Aeschylus the name is connected with their 'dressing their hair like dainty damsels.'³³

III. AMYGDALOID BEAD-SEALS WITH BEVELLED BACKS (Nos. 6-10).

There are five examples of a class of intaglios on gold beads, 22 mm. in length, of a somewhat flat 'amygdaloid' type with their backs divided into three sections by incised lines, the outer of these sections corresponding with a slight bevelling of the contour. This type closely corresponds with a class of bead-seals of the same almond-shaped outline, in cornelian and other

²⁸ Xanthoudides, *Ep. 'Apx.* 1907, Pl. VIII, 113, p. 177: interpreted as 'worshippers.' The head of the Goddess is reduced to a mere knob partly perhaps owing to a miscalculation of space. A very summary treatment of the head is, however, common enough in late Minoan intaglios. Here the skirt has no less than nine flounces and the little girls are quite in the fashion. This bead-seal was found in the village of Mokhōs.

²⁹ See below p. 65 and Fig. 35.

³⁰ One of these figures is shown in my *Report, Knossos, B.S.A. VIII. 1902*, p. 99, Fig. 56.

³¹ In this connexion it is worth noting that the Minoan seal-type in which the

Goddess appears in the significant attitude above described, between the two little maidens, recurs in a variant form with a similar figure of the Goddess between two stars, such as in Classical art symbolised the Dioscuri. An example of this type is supplied by a dark-green steatite lentoid from Mylopotamos, Crete, *Ep. 'Apx.* 1907, Pl. VII, 86.

³² Strabo, *l. 3*, 8: *ἐκαστοκαίνας γὰρ, ὡς αἱ πόλιν τοῦτοια ἀρχαί· τοῖς τοῖς περὶ τῆς Διὸς αἰετοῖς πολεῖ.*

³³ The fragment is preserved by Athenaeus, *xii*, 37 (citing Phylarchus): *χλιδῆς τε καὶ ἀδανεύς ὡς καὶ παλαιὸν ἔχουσιν ὁμοίαν κοῦρεῖν ἡμῶν ἔχουσιν.*

crystalline stones, showing a triple moulding of the back in a somewhat more accentuated form. Amygdaloids of this character seem to make their first appearance in the course of the First Late Minoan Period, the abundant specimens of the transitional M.M. III.—L.M. I. phase, so far as my own observations go, uniformly showing a plain rounded back. The bevelled type only becomes common towards the close of L.M. I.

No. 6; Pl. II. 3, Fig. 16. Weight 5.11 gm. **Spring Goddess Rising from the Ground.**

The design on this intaglio is extremely important in its relation to the mythology and artistic types of the Greek world, and in some respects forms a supplement to the preceding signet-ring, No. 5.

A female figure, with the same triply arranged head-dress or tiara that the seated Goddess wears on the signet-ring, is here seen rising from the ground—



FIG. 16.—SPRING GODDESS RISING FROM GROUND. (1)

indicated by a row of horizontal lines—between two sprouting plants. Like the Goddess, too, in the preceding scene, she wears what appears to be a kind of short-sleeved bodice, fully displaying the breasts, while below her waist-band is a flounced skirt, the lower part of which is cut off by the ground line. In her raised right hand she holds three poppy capsules like the seated Goddess on the Mycenaean signet. Above her right shoulder are some remarkable appearances that might easily escape notice in a summary survey. These are visible in the enlarged drawing by Monsieur E. Gilléron, reproduced in Fig. 16, and there can be no doubt that they represent the raised heads of the three snakes such as are the well-known concomitants of the Goddess as Lady of the Underworld. Besides the well-known Snake Goddess of the Temple Repository at Knossos,⁴¹ a series of other figures have now come to light showing this attribute, the position of the snakes, however, not being always the same.⁴²

On the side towards which the serpents thrust their heads is seen a half-

⁴¹ *Palace of Minos*, I. p. 300 *seqq.*

⁴² Thus in the well-known Minoan terracotta figure of the Berlin Museum a triple knot

of serpents appears at the back of the head (*op. cit.*, p. 507, Fig. 365).

kneeling youth who leans forward and grasps the left wrist of the rising Goddess; while with his other hand he seems about to lend support to her elbow, in the endeavour to assist her in her ascent to the upper air.

It is the Spring Goddess arising out of the earth, and the poppy-heads that she holds in her hand, besides being emblems of fertility, may also in their soporific quality bear a certain allusion to her winter sleep. These are, in fact, the same poppy-heads that we see over a thousand years later in the



FIG. 17.—GOLD STATER OF LAMPSAKOS. (1)

hands of her Hellenic successor Persephoné, at the moment of her ascension from the earth. On the very beautiful reverse of a gold stater of Lampsakos²⁶ (Fig. 17), which otherwise compares so closely with the design on the ring, the objects held in the right hand of the Goddess seem to be rather barley ears than elongated poppy capsules. On the other hand, on the well-known terracotta relief from Magna Graecia, the resurgent Koré holds in either hand a triple group of poppy-heads, lilies and ears of barley. Here too, to complete the parallel, the chthonic character of the Maiden Goddess

is manifested by the snakes on either side coiled round her fore-arm and, in this case, raising their heads towards her (Fig. 18).²⁷



FIG. 18.—PERSEPHONE RISING FROM GROUND, HOLDING POPPY-CAPSULES, LILIES AND EARS OF BARLEY, WITH SNAKES ON EITHER SIDE. TERRACOTTA RELIEF FROM MAGNA GRAECIA.

What makes these parallels the more remarkable is the recurrence also in Hellenic art of the motive of the attendant helping the Spring Goddess

²⁶ B.M. Cat., *Myria*, Pl. XIX. 4. The three objects in the Goddess's right hand, look somewhat different from the ears of barley that she holds, with bunches of grapes, in her left. There can be little

doubt however that, as stated in the Catalogue (js. 81, No. 26), they are intended for the same objects.

²⁷ Overbeck, *Kunstmithologische Atlas*, Pl. XVI. 8.

to rise out of the earth. A notable example of this is the relief on the Ludovisi throne, where a handmaiden—perhaps a Hora³⁹—bends down on either side to give her support. Here we have the germ of the later *Arctos*.

In two representations of the rising of Persephonê on vases⁴⁰ she is received by Hermes, who has here succeeded the youthful attendant seen on the Minoan bead-seal. The latter wears a conical cap with a triple roll, from under which his hair falls in long tresses behind; his body above the belt seems to be clad in a sleeveless corset. His attire recalls that of the young prince in the heroic scenes illustrated below,⁴¹ and his gallant attitude, which might be that of a page at the Court of the Grand Monarque, is curiously foreign to the classical conception. He is surely of Minoan royal stock, and the most natural conclusion seems to be that we have here a youthful priest-king who was credited with the annual performance of some spring ceremony of this kind. A parallel subject will be found below in the intaglio⁴² depicting a young prince in similar attire attacking a hostile agent of supernatural power in the shape of the Sphinx.



FIG. 19.—GODDESS POURING LIQUID INTO METAL JAR. (1)

No. 7, Pl. II. 2, Fig. 19. Weight 5.66 gm. Goddess with Attendant pouring liquid into jar.

This bead-seal presents a ritual scene altogether unique at the time when the *Thiabé Treasure* was discovered, but for which, seven years later—in 1922—a remarkable parallel, hitherto unpublished, came to light amidst a heap of seal-impressions from the Domestic Quarter of the Palace at Knossos

³⁹ L. Bloch, *Kora and Demeter*, Roscher's *Lexikon*, i. p. 1379, suggests this in view of the fact that the Orphic Hymn (43) refers to the Horae as playmates of Kora at the time of the *Anaktoria*.

⁴⁰ One of these is a red-figured krater from Vasto (Steube, *Studien z. Bildwerk. v. Klassik*, Pl. III., and see Robert, *Archäol. Museum*, p. 179). The other (obtained by the Dresden Museum from a private

collection at Florence) is also a red-figured krater (P. Hermann, *Jahrb. d. arch. Inst.*, vii. 1892, and *Jahrb.*, p. 166, Fig. 33). In the latter case she is rising from a cave while three Panx dance for joy at her re-awakening.

⁴¹ See below, p. 27, Fig. 31, p. 28, Fig. 23, and Pl. III.

⁴² See below, p. 27, Fig. 31.

(see Fig. 20). On the left side of the field, with one of her little girl attendants imitating her action behind, stands the Goddess with the same triple coiffure and wearing the same dress as in the preceding groups. Her left arm is raised and her right hand is held immediately over the rim of a large jar or amphora, into which an adult female attendant similarly robed, and apparently answering to the seated companion of the signet, is pouring some kind of liquid from a jug.

The metallic character of the large jar is clearly revealed by its two curved handles, and by the distinct ring running round the base of the collar, on which, too, two lines of rivet-heads are clearly visible. It has raised stellate ornaments on the body, perhaps standing for rosettes in relief. The form of the handle of the jug and the ring, here too seen round the base of its high collar, also show that the artist had in view an original in metal work.

Behind the attendant or votary who is pouring from the jug is a tree, laden apparently with bunches of fruit, some of which hang down. This shows an analogy with some other fruit-bearing trees that appear in relation to the Goddess on Minoan or Mycenaean signets, and of which an example is given in Fig. 12 above, from Mycenae. The large signet-ring from the deposit outside the Shaft Graves there shows the Goddess seated under a fruit tree of this kind, and, in spite of its upright stem, the bunches that it bears unmistakably indicate a vine. It seems probable that the small tree on the present intaglio must be identified in the same way.



FIG. 20.—GODDESS POURING
LIBATION. SEAL IMPRES-
SION, KNOSSOS. (1)

The clay seal-impression from Knossos; here for the first time illustrated (Fig. 20), which supplies such a curious parallel to the foregoing subject, has lost a segment of its upper circumference. But the central features, most important for comparison, are preserved, including the rim and part of the handle of the jug, and the liquor pouring out of it into a

large jar which seems to represent a vessel of the same class. The jug is here held by a seated female personage, the only figure depicted, who may represent either the Goddess or her votary. She rests on a kind of stool, apparently of woodwork, but which in its structure bears some analogy to the throne at Knossos. The ritual character of the act is here clearly marked by the 'sacral horns' placed in front of the jar. In this case too a tree or bush appears in the margin of the field beyond, but owing to the rough material of the sealing and the poorness of the impression it is very imperfectly delineated. It appears, however, to have had several stems springing from the ground, in contrast to the single-stemmed fruit tree on the gold intaglio.

But the substantial correspondence of the main episode in the two designs is such as to necessitate the conclusion that both refer to some ritual function of the same kind. What then was the inward significance of this? The different character of the plant forms exhibited only allows us to infer a general

reference to the growth of vegetation. We can hardly, therefore, insist on the occurrence in one case of what appears to be a vine laden with grapes, and thence infer that we have here a contributory libation of wine poured into the sacred jar for the Goddess's fruition. It may indeed be regarded as a moot point whether wine from the juice of the grape was really known in Minoan Crete, though there are strong indications of the existence of some kind of beer brewed from malted barley. It seems preferable to connect the ceremonial pouring of the liquid contents of the smaller vessel into the greater with methods of 'sympathetic magic' in vogue among primitive folk the world over for securing rain in seasons of drought. Thus in a fragment of Celtic folk-lore preserved in the *Roman de Rou* we are told how, with this object in view, the Breton hunters filled their drinking-horns from the spring of Berenton and emptied them over the steps of the fountain.⁴² The 'sweet-smelling goblet' of Theokritos,⁴³ 'such as the Horn'—the rain-givers of classical Greece—'might have washed in their springs,' has been thought to bear a similar significance.⁴⁴

The view that these intaglio types present ceremonial acts designed to secure rain in a dry season—a not unfrequent contingency in Crete—receives support from the appearance of a whole series of somewhat summarily engraved stones, belonging to a numerous amuletic class,⁴⁵ which there is every reason for regarding as rain-charms.

The central feature of these stones,⁴⁶ which are either lentoids or amygdaloids of the earlier type with smooth backs, is most frequently a beaker, jug or ewer, sometimes spouted and identical with a Cretan hieroglyph⁴⁷ which, except for its handle, recalls the Egyptian libation vase sign, *qebeh*. Sometimes these jugs have a flaring mouth, sometimes a high, narrow neck and the handles are curved like the letter S, this and the globular rendering of the body answering to the requirements of wholesale production by a rapid use of the engraver's wheel and blunt point. In other cases the jug or ewer is replaced by a two-handled cup of the kantharos type, with similar S-handles, and often surmounted by a conical lid.⁴⁸ These vessels are always accompanied in the design with sprays of vegetation, at times rising from the conventional

⁴² See *Palace of Minos*, i. pp. 414, 415.

⁴³ *Roman de Rou*, ii. 6390, seqq.

⁴⁴ *Idyll.* i. 146, 150.

εἶπε τοι ἐὼς Νέστωρ φέρον ἄλκον, ἃς καὶ δὲ γένηται
ἔπειτα νεκλήσεται ἐν τοῖς σπέρμασι θεογενέσι.

See Grünh, *Deutsche Mythologie* (1875), *Nachtrag*, p. 169, for other comparisons. A curious instance of such a rain-producing rite was noted by me at Thrakimorci near the ancient Scupi (Skoplje). I was informed that an altar, with a dedication to Jupiter, which I had observed lying face downwards there on the village green, was set up in its proper position in times of drought, and that the villagers, both Christian and Mahometan, with a local Boy at the head,

went together to the stone and poured wine over the top, praying the while for rain (see *Archæologia*, 1883, p. 104).

⁴⁵ See *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 672 seqq.

⁴⁶ This class is so common that I have a dozen specimens from Central and Eastern Crete in my own Collection.

⁴⁷ *Scripta Minos*, i. p. 197, No. 40. For the jug with the hooked spout, cf. No. 47, p. 200.

⁴⁸ This lidded type also occurs on both sides of an inscribed tablet of the Linear Class A from Hagia Triada. It is followed on one side by the ideograph of a male axe divinity of which a female version is also found.

rendering of hilly ground. On one very significant example the plant lies prone beside a chalice, while, above it, appears the rayed disk representing the sun⁴⁹ (Fig. 21).

In the case of the one-handled jugs seen on this amuletic class of gems the exaggeration of the beak and frequent attenuation of the neck no doubt attest the influence of gourd types in the country districts. But the prototype of the finest class of jugs, illustrating their metallic origin, is seen in a



FIG. 21.—AMULETIC BEAD-SEAL SHOWING TWO-HANDLED CHALICE PLANT AND SUN. (1)

solitary position on a face of a three-sided cornelian bead-seal belonging to a slightly earlier date (M.M. III.), and this in turn shows a certain parallelism, so far as its neck and body goes, with that held in the hands of the votary on the Thibê specimen (Fig. 19, above).

What we have here to deal with then are more elaborate illustrations of rain-compelling rites, to which we may trace an allusion in the simpler amuletic types of slightly earlier date. These amulets, in fact, belong, as already noted, to the transitional M.M. III.—L.M. I phase,

and probably also to the early part of L.M. I. If we may take the gold intaglio as belonging approximately to the same age as the clay seal-impression from Knossos, we approach a date coeval with the later Palace there.

An apposite parallel to these designs, moreover, is afforded by another more or less contemporary group of intaglio types in which the same handled jugs and ewers are seen in the hands of the beneficent Minoan Genii, themselves undoubtedly in their original form taken over from the Hippopotamus Goddess Tauri,⁵⁰ especially in her impersonation as Reret. A principal function of these Genii is the bringing down of rain by the ceremonial pouring of water or other liquid contents of such vessels on altar blocks and heaps of stones, or into cauldrons resting on columns.⁵¹ On a gem from the Vapheio Tomb (Fig. 22) stand two of these kindly daemons of the leonine type, facing each other symmetrically—in accordance with the heraldic schemes then coming into vogue—on either side of a pedestaled basin. Each of these holds up a ewer, while behind are three shoots of what seems to be a nursling palm-tree, its sacred character marked by the 'Horns of Consecration' that are set in front of it. The basin here is too shallow to admit the supposition

⁴⁹ On a pink cornelian amygdaloid bead from H. Andonis near Goules, obtained by me in 1894 (see *Cretan Pictographs*, pp. 8, 9).

⁵⁰ This derivation was originally suggested by Winter (*Arch. Anzeiger*, 1890, p. 108). It is now supported by the early appearance of Tauri on the imitative steatite scarab found in the smaller tholos at Platanos belonging to the early part of

the Middle Minoan Period (see *P. of M.*, I. p. 299, and Fig. 148). For the connexion with Reret I must refer to my observations in the forthcoming second volume of *The Palace of Minos*, where the whole question of the Minoan Genii will receive special treatment.

⁵¹ Some representations of these scenes are given in my *Myc. Tree and Pillar Cult.* p. 19.

that the ewers had been filled from it, and we are led to the conclusion that the Genii are not engaged in the actual watering of the plant,⁴² but are about to bring down 'the rain of heaven' on thirsty vegetation in general, as symbolised by the palm shoots, by pouring water into the basin. So, too, in



FIG. 22.—GENII ABOUT TO POUR LIBATIONS INTO TRIPOD CAULDRON, BEFORE NURSING PALM.



FIG. 23.—GENII POURING LIBATIONS INTO TRIPOD CAULDRON.

another scene we see the Genii pouring libations into cauldrons (Fig. 23). In that case we have a close parallel to the ceremonial scene on the gold bead of the Thisbê Treasure.



FIG. 24.—GODDESS AS BRITOMARTIS OR DIKTYNNA SHOOTING STAG. (H)

No. 8, Pl. II. 4, Fig. 24. Weight 5.84 gm. Goddess as Artemis, shooting stag.

Here the Goddess appears as a huntress, in the character preserved by Britomartis or Diktynna, her native representative in classical times.⁴³ She is pursuing a stag, which, from the palmation visible in the horns, must be a fallow deer, like the animal depicted on the great signet-ring, No. 4. The groups of dots

⁴² My own original interpretation (cf. *Myc. Treas. and Pillar Cult.*, p. 3 [101]) had been that the Genii were in the act of watering the young palm with water drawn from the basin. The other view, however, corresponds better with the parallel ceremonial in which the Genii take part on other intaglios.

⁴³ *Britomartis* & *Kripos* & *Artemis*, *Heeren*, s.v. Cf. *Solinus*, II, 8: '*Ortes Phasian religiosissime venerantur, Britomartem gentilibus numineantes, quod neminem nostrum esset virginem ducem.*' Pausanias (ii, 30) and Diodorus (v, 76) make Diktynna an epithet or alternative name of Britomartis.

visible on its flank may be thought, indeed, to indicate its dappling. The Goddess, who is richly attired with an embroidered skirt and seems to be wearing a kind of crown on her head, is depicted as having just shot an arrow, which has stuck between the shoulders of her quarry. The bow itself, from the appearance of thongs that cross it at intervals, is of the composite or Asiatic kind, differing thus from the earlier Minoan class, which seems to have been



FIG. 25.—DIKETYSSA SHOOTING FROM BOW, WEARING 'SACRAL KNOT.'

of Nilotic origin.⁵⁴ The manner in which she holds the bow, still fully bent though the arrow has been already shot, must be regarded as artistic convention. In the intaglio she grasps the centre of the bow with her left hand and pulls the string with her right, which is the true action, though in the impression (as seen in Fig. 24) it is reversed. This is one of many proofs that the designs were primarily intended to be looked at as they were wrought by the engraver on the gold beads themselves. A parallel to this may be found in the action of the female archer of matronly proportions on a cornelian lentoid bead from Crete in the Berlin Museum⁵⁵ (Fig. 25), where again the intaglio itself presents the true view. The divine character of the personage on this gem, rightly identified with the later Artemis by Furtwängler, is shown by the appearance on her shoulder of a 'sacral knot' with its characteristic fringe.⁵⁶

A remarkable feature in the design on the Thusbê intaglio, hitherto unexampled in Minoan art, is that the Goddess is half-turned round, so as to present her back to the spectator, the object, apparently, being to display the quiver with arrows sticking out from it, slung between her shoulders. This is a favourite attitude for Artemis in Hellenistic art, as, for instance, on Syracusan coins of the close of the third century B.C.⁵⁷ It is also illustrated by gems from about that date onwards.⁵⁸ That an arrangement so subtle should have been adopted by a Minoan or Mycenaean artist some twelve centuries earlier is an interesting phenomenon.

This attitude of the Goddess, bringing into full view the back part of her short-sleeved corslet, shows a transversal strap passing over her right shoulder, which receives fuller illustration from the Cretan lentoid above referred to (Fig. 25). There a double strap appears in front together with the attachment of a short sword or hunting knife in its sheath,⁵⁹ a weapon necessary to the huntress for the final despatch of her quarry.

⁵⁴ See *P. of M.* II. p. 50.

⁵⁵ Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, I. Pl. II. No. 24: *Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium*, No. 2 (p. 1).

⁵⁶ This feature, doubtfully regarded by Furtwängler as a quiver, would certainly not have escaped him had there been fuller illustrative materials at the time when he described this gem.

⁵⁷ Heuß, *Coinage of Syracuse* (Num. Chron. N.S., Vol. XIV.), Pl. XIII., 1 and 3

(*'Democracy'*, 215-212 B.C.).

⁵⁸ I may instance a very fine Hellenistic intaglio on a pearly in my own Collection, from Curzola (*Concyra Nigra*).

⁵⁹ Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, etc., p. 1: 'Vorne, quer über den Bauch, geht ein horizontaler Gegenstand, wie es scheint ein Schwert in der Scheide, das an einem deutlich abichtbaren Bunde an die Brust gehängt ist.'

The Goddess on the engraved bead wears Minoan 'buskins,' and there is a double ground-line beneath the lower part of the intaglio.

No. 9, Pl. II. 5, Fig. 26. Weight 6.58 gm. Goddess holding two swans.

On this bead-seal the Goddess stands with her head turned to the right, holding two swans by their necks. The general scheme is known and appears, for instance, on a three-sided amethyst bead-seal from the Vaphio tomb,⁴⁰ but the present intaglio far exceeds any existing example in its execution. It contains, moreover, an additional feature of considerable religious interest. To the right of the head of the Goddess, in the direction in which she looks, appears a small orb, and on the other side a star, clearly indicative of the heavenly luminaries. A noteworthy feature in the Goddess's robe is the small apron in front above the skirt, itself an early feature, which recalls



FIG. 26.—GODDESS HOLDING TWO SWANS. (1)

the Snake Goddess group of the Temple Repositories at Knossos. As there, her bosom is bare and the double circlets round her shoulders and armpits may indicate the short sleeves of a jacket or bodice. Round her neck is a necklace with well-defined pendants, and she wears the Minoan stockings. Along the lower part of the field runs a border consisting of a row of dots between incised lines, and below this again short vertical strokes. Like that of the preceding intaglio, the engraving is of very fine quality.

The type itself is one of those earliest revived by the Greek 'Renaissance,' where, however, a young male figure is at times substituted for the Goddess. Such an adaptation, crossed in that case by the Nilotic motive of the 'duck-hunter,' occurs in the case of an 'open-work' gold jewel from the 'Aegina Treasure'⁴¹ which may be regarded as representing an offshoot of early Ionian art. This jewel is also important as the forerunner of ruder copies in old

⁴⁰ *Ep. Arch.*, 1889, Pl. X. 5. This form of three-sided bead-seal is characteristic of M.M. III., but may survive into the early part of L.M. I. The Vaphio Tomb itself is shown by the ceramic evidence to be not later than L.M. I. b. On a green jasper from the Blacas Collection, B.M. Cat. 83, Pl. A (*Rev. Arch.*, 1878, Pl. XX., Fig. 3:

Milchhofer, *Die Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 86, Fig. 66 a), the Goddess, who seems to stand on water, lays hold of the wings. I have seen another example of the ordinary type on a chalcedony half-oval from Central Crete.

⁴¹ *J.H.S.*, xiii., 1892-1893, p. 195 seqq. (see Fig. 3, p. 201).

Italian metal-work dating from about 800 B.C.,⁶² amongst which a very near parallel may be recognised in a bronze ornament from the S. Francesco hoard at Bologna. Of special interest, too, is the recurrence of this scheme on ivory fibula plates from the Orthia sanctuary at Sparta, in which case we see Artemis—in one example winged and facing, in the other wingless and with her head to the left—who grasps two birds by the necks in heraldic opposition.⁶³ Of about the same date is the painted clay box in the Boeotian style from Thebes,⁶⁴ showing the Goddess, with curved wings issuing from her shoulders, holding up two small water-fowl (Fig. 27). From the beginning of the seventh century onwards the catena of such subjects is well maintained.

A new light, moreover, is thrown on the origin of the shoulder wings on these early Greek figures of Artemis, which have hitherto been simply regarded as importations from the East. That the Oriental type, ultimately derived from



FIG. 27.—'WINGED' ARTEMIS
HOLDING TWO WATERFOWL
ON BOEOTIAN CLAY BOX. (1)



FIG. 28.—GODDESS WITH 'SACRAL
KNOTS' ON HER SHOULDERS BE-
TWEEN TWO GRIFFINS. (1)

Egypt, later affected Greek archaic art is indisputable. But the evidence before us tends strongly to the conclusion that their first appearance in Greece in connexion with Artemis is, in fact, due to a quite natural interpretation of a feature in some of her Minoan prototypes—the 'sacral knots' proceeding from the shoulders on either side. One of these has already been pointed out in the case of the profile view of Diktynna drawing her bow seen in Fig. 25, where the ends of the knot curve down and the fringe of the turban was clearly visible. But in order to bring out this sacral feature clearly on both sides where the Goddess is seen from the front, these knots are depicted as curving upwards from the shoulders as in Fig. 15 above. A good instance, again, of this device is to be seen on an unpublished haematite lentoid from Central Crete⁶⁵ of Late Minoan date, where a facing figure of the Goddess appears between two griffins—heraldically arranged as in the other schemes with which we are at present concerned—from the shoulders of which two similar objects curve

⁶² See my remarks, *J.H.S.*, xiii, p. 201, and cf. S. Reinach and J. Bouché, *Jahrb. d. arch. Inst.*, 1901, p. 190.

⁶³ R. M. Dawkins, *R.S.I.*, xiii, 1906—

1907, pp. 78–80, and Figs. 17 b, 18 a.

⁶⁴ J. Bouché, *Boeotische Vasen (Jahrb. d. arch. Inst., 1888)*, p. 337.

⁶⁵ In my Collection.

downwards, then upwards, showing traces of the terminal fringe (Fig. 28). I had myself at first mistaken these for short wings.

Monstrous figures, semi-human and animal, with birds' wings had already, as we know from the Zakro seal-impressions and other sources, become a feature of Minoan art by the latter part of the Middle Minoan Age.⁶⁶ Sphinxes and griffins, too, appear by that epoch with 'notched phanes' of particular religious significance.⁶⁷ But in no case has any winged figure of a Minoan or Mycenaean divinity of either sex come to light. It is undoubtedly, therefore, the 'sacral knots' attached to her shoulders that has been taken over by archaic Greek art, together with the earlier *πέρνια θηρίων* herself, heraldically rendered with similar opposed animals or monsters.

It may be observed that the wings of Egyptian divinities are derived from those of the *Sayabœus sacer*. They show the straight line above which is one of their characteristic features, and proceed from the side. These wings are taken over on to the Sacred Disk and find adaptations in Phoenicia and elsewhere,⁶⁸ in these cases often showing recurved ends.

It will be seen that in the mature archaic types of Greek art the wings are attached to the side of the figures in the same way as the beetle wings of Egyptian divinities. But the wings on such early examples as the Spartan ivory relief and the figure on the Boeotian casket came much nearer to the Minoan arrangement seen in Fig. 28.

The emergence of this type in Greece is the more remarkable when it is remembered that wings were foreign to the conception of the primitive Hellenic divinities and are indeed never introduced into the Homeric descriptions.⁶⁹ This fact indeed is so fundamental that in later art wings are confined to such new creations as Nikê, Eros and Psychê, while Artemis herself appears invariably wingless. So much was this the case that Pausanias, on seeing a winged figure of the Goddess on the Chest of Kypselos, exclaims, 'I do not know for what reason Artemis is shown bearing wings on her shoulders.'⁷⁰

No. 10, Pl. I, 5, Fig. 29. Weight 6.33 gm. Huntsman spearing lion.

Here the scene is laid in a rocky glen where a huntsman is seen spearing a lion who prepares to spring on him. The man is clad in a short-sleeved, close-fitting body garment and 'shorts,' with the flounce-like arrangement and fringe repeated on other male figures of this series, and wears leggings. The

⁶⁶ See *P. of M.*, I, p. 701 *seqq.* Most of these figures are of a fantastic class, but we also find a Cretan wild goat or *Agrioi* winged in a religious scene (p. 708, Fig. 53).

⁶⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 538 *seqq.*

⁶⁸ On some Hittite monuments, as, for instance, a bas-relief at Carcbemish (Perrot et Chipiez, IV, p. 540, Fig. 276), the wings rise upwards from behind the shoulders, but their attachment seems to have been lower down.

⁶⁹ On these points J. Langbehn's work,

Flügelgestalten der ältesten griechischen Kunst (Munich, 1881), is still valid, much as later materials interfere with some of his other conclusions.

⁷⁰ Paus., v, 19, 5: *οὐκ οἶδα ἐπ' ἧς αἰτίας ἐπέπνευσται ἔχουσα δερτινὰ καὶ περὶ ἀκρῶν.* She held a lion in one hand and a part in the other, doubtless heraldically opposed, as in the traditional scheme. (Cf. Fraser, *Protesilas*, III, pp. 617, 618, and Stuart Jones' restoration of the Chest, *op. p.* 606.)

shaft of the spear, which the hunter holds in his right hand, has ribbon-like attachments, as is more clearly seen on a Boeotian ring in the Ashmolean Museum representing two warriors⁷⁰ (Fig. 30). This detail as well as the fringed shorts occurs on the signet representing a scene of combat between warriors found in the Fourth Shaft Grave at Mycenae. This latter correspondence in men's fashions has a distinct chronological value, since the



FIG. 29.—HUNTERMAN SPEARING LION. (1)

latest elements in the Fourth Grave do not come down lower than the latter part of the First Late Minoan Period.

Unlike the lion attacking the bull on No. 3 (Fig. 8 above), with the rings about its fore-feet and ankles, the animal here is clearly depicted in his wild condition, tracked by the hunter to his den, indicated by the canopy of rocks above. These features give the design a certain analogy with the scene



FIG. 30.—COMBAT BETWEEN TWO WARRIORS
OF GOLD SIGNET-RING FROM BOEOTIA. (1)

on a chalcedony lentoid from the Vapheio tomb,⁷¹ where a huntsman drives his spear into a huge wild boar who is charging at him. In that case, however, the overhanging rocks are more conventionally rendered.

Beneath the design runs a double line following the lower edge of the

⁷⁰ Presented to the Museum by Professor B. C. Boissacquet.

p. 166; Perrot et Chipiez, vi. p. 343, Fig. 426, 17; Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, I. Pl. II. 11.

⁷¹ Tsountas, *Ep. 'Apx.*, 1889, Pl. X. 2.

gold bead, with a row of vertical strokes below it, resembling thus the border of No. 30. The double line itself recurs on all this group of bead-seals (Nos. 9-10), the minute correspondence in the execution of which point to the hand of the same engraver.

IV, ELONGATED OVAL BEAD-SEALS OF ABNORMAL LENGTH (Nos. 11-13).

The gold intaglios of this class must be regarded as unique both in their form and their dimensions. Whereas the preceding, somewhat flat amygdaloid beads are regularly 22 mm. in length, the specimens of this group are in each case as nearly as possible 37 mm., or almost double the length of the others. Their face is exceptionally bossed and their backs display the triple 'bevelled' of the preceding class in a much stronger degree (see Fig. 2). Their breadth ranges from 17 mm. in the case of No. 13, and 18 mm. in No. 11, to 22 mm. in No. 12. Small apertures in the plating of Nos. 11 and 12 show that there was a hollow space in their interior.

All the intaglios of this group are of a heroic character and present scenes either of an epic or an actually historic character.



FIG. 31.—YOUNG PRINCE ATTACKING SPHINX. FROM IMPRESSION. (1)

No. 11, Pl. III. 1, Fig. 31. Weight 13.27 gm. **Youthful Prince attacking Sphinx.**

To the left of the field is a very finely executed figure, in whom we cannot fail to recognise a young prince, holding a dagger or short sword in his right hand (as seen in the intaglio, Fig. 32). This he has drawn from a sheath slung round his shoulder behind him, and runs forward, his left hand outstretched, to encounter the Sphinx. On her side the monster, whose fore-feet show redoubtable claws, raises herself on her haunches and awaits the onslaught, her head turned towards the aggressor.

The youthful hero is bareheaded, with long locks falling down behind. Above his forehead, however, he seems to wear some kind of circlet from which pendants of oval form fall about the side and back of his head. The upper part of his body is clad in a close-fitting, short-sleeved corselet, evidently of some hairy material, and this, after being confined at the waist by a narrow belt, seems to

be continuous with the triply-flounced garment of the same hairy stuff that covers the upper part of his thighs. This garment is of the familiar 'bathing drawers' order, such as we already see it in the 'flattened cylinder' from the Third Shaft Grave⁷² at Mycenae presenting the group of the hero attacking a lion, and again on the signet already referred to with the scene of combat between warriors from the Fourth Grave.⁷³ In Minoan Crete, however, it has a still earlier history and goes back at least to the Third Middle Minoan Period.⁷⁴ On the Mycenae signet ring we notice pendant attachments both to the tunic beneath and armpit flounces, which come out clearer on the Thisbê head and others of this series, and which may be regarded as having formed a fringe of long tassels. The triply wound laces which surround the upper border of the Minoan 'buskins' worn by the young prince on the present bead-seal are also seen to terminate in oval knots.



FIG. 32.—YOUNG PRINCE ATTACKING SPHINX. REPRODUCED FROM ORIGINAL INTAGLIO. (†)

In the decorative appendages thus attached alike to the diadem, the dress and the foot-gear, we note a unity of expression that marks the height of a contemporary fashion—a fashion which, as we have seen from the Mycenae signet, characterises the mature phase of L.M. I.

The Sphinx here, in place of the usual flat headpiece, wears a cap of triple formation, but with the same tasseled crest at top. This triple cap, of which we see another version in the Minoan helmets adorned with boars' tusks, reappears in the case of several of the figures depicted on the present series of intaglios. We see it on the head of the seated Goddess of No. 5 and on those of the two richly apparelled male personages of No. 13 below, and of the

⁷² Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 174, Fig. 234; Schuchhardt, p. 190, Fig. 177.

⁷³ Schliemann, *op. cit.*, p. 223, Fig. 335; Schuchhardt, p. 221, Fig. 221.

⁷⁴ These flounced 'drawers' appear on the thighs of the goat-men on Zakro sealings belonging to the transitional M.M. III.—L.M. I. phase (Hogarth, *J.H.S.*, xxii. (1902), Nos. 34, 35, p. 32, Fig. 12; and

Pl. VII.). Cf. *P. of M.*, i. p. 707, Fig. 531, a, c. There is no reason whatever for supposing (with Glotz, in his excellent summary of Aegean Culture, *La Civilisation Égéenne*, p. 84) that this fashion had been imported from the Mainland into Crete. The intaglio on which it occurs combines all that is most Minoan, and belong to a period when the Mainland reaction in Minoan types was still

Charioteer of No. 12, and in all these cases it would seem to be a badge of superior dignity. Two of the warriors in the scene of combat on the ring from the Fourth Shaft Grave at Mycenae wear helmets of this form—another coincidence in fashion.⁷² This is the predecessor of the early Greek type with a plain conical headpiece and tassel as it already appears on one of the bronze shields from the Idaean Cave.⁷³ The Sphinx on the Thiasê intaglio also wears a broad jewelled collar, and round her fore-feet and ankles are triple rings as on the lion of No. 3, but in this case clearly worn as ornaments. A long lock of hair falls behind her neck, but there are no coils about the breast such as are seen in the more usual Minoan type of Sphinx and Griffin.

One detail of the wings is specially noteworthy. Their feathers clearly reproduce the 'notched plume' ornament, a sacral feature that characterises the Minoan sphinxes and griffins from the last Middle Minoan Period onwards, and which in the case of the griffin on King Aahmes' dagger-blade was also taken over into Egyptian art.⁷⁴

The wild nature of the spot in which the encounter takes place is shown by the conventional rocks that appear along the upper margin of the field. Two engraved lines indicate, as usual, the ground below, and small plants are seen rising between the legs of the combatants, much resembling those associated with the rising of the Spring Goddess on No. 6, Fig. 16 above. Similar plants, in that case undoubtedly intended for young palms, occur on both the Vaphio cups.

Here then, on a Boeotian jewel, not later, as we may judge from its associations and the character of certain details, than the first half of the fifteenth century B.C., we have already depicted for us the episode of the young prince attacking a Sphinx which is part and parcel of the later story of Oedipus.

That the story here, indeed, is somewhat different is at once apparent. There is no halting in the gait of the youthful hero, nor any sign of swelling of the foot such as gave his name to the Greek 'Swollen-foot.' It is true that Greek art, which did not shrink from exhibiting the bandaged leg of Philoklêtês, glosses over this feature in the case of Oedipus, but we cannot be so sure that the Minoan artist would have omitted it.

The Sphinx here differs from all other presentations of the monster in Minoan or Mycenaean art in the active and combatant attitude that she takes up. Elsewhere she is seen, for instance, on either side of a sacred tree or as in an ivory relief from Mycenae,⁷⁵ resting her foot on the capital of a low column: sometimes she is seated before rocks or, as so often in Greco-Roman representations, in a merely decorative capacity, but always in a sedentary pose. Here she is depicted as the militant guardian of a wild, rocky country which may surely be identified with the Sphingion Oros,⁷⁶ the reputed haunt of the

⁷² Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 223, Fig. 235.

⁷³ Orsi, *Anno di Zeus Ideo*, p. 117, and Pl.V.

⁷⁴ See *P. of M.*, i, p. 548 seqq.

⁷⁵ *Ep. 'Apx.*, 1887, Pl. XIII, n.

⁷⁶ Otherwise the *Herms* from 43; the 10-

digious Boeotian form of *Σφίγξ* (cf. Hesiod, *Theogon* (α, 323). Doubts have been expressed whether *Σφίγξ* and *Σφίγξ* are really connected philologically (cf. E. Bethu. *Thebanische Heldensage*, p. 21).

monster in Greek tradition. This is the Phagæ range that lies between Thebes and the Copais Lake and overlooks the road to Orchomenos.

Some interesting questions here suggest themselves. Are we to see in the guardian monster, who on this Boeotian jewel stands in the path of the young prince, actual evidence of the introduction of this mythic incident through Minoan agency? It must be observed at the outset that in that case this piece of folk-lore would have been very rapidly implanted. It would for many reasons be unsafe to bring down the date of the intaglio on which this scene occurs later than the early part of the fifteenth century before our era. On the other hand, the earliest ceramic types obtained by Professor Keramopoulos from the Theban cemeteries¹⁷ consistently present the mature phase of L.M. I. b, which may conveniently be referred to a date approaching 1500 B.C. The first appearance, therefore, of the Sphinx—itsself an Egypto-Minoan creation of earlier date—in a Boeotian connexion must be almost contemporary with the wave of Minoan conquest to which 'Kadmeian' Thebes owed its origin. That the form of the Sphinx in art must go back on Boeotian soil to this early epoch is clear, but the question remains whether her appearance in local story may not have been due to the taking over of some pre-existing monstrous creation of indigenous growth. It is indisputable that the Hellenic Sphinx as an artistic conception is derived from the Minoan, but the name itself is of native formation, being a derivative of the verb *σφίγγω*, 'to squeeze,' and we recall that this 'constrictor' was daughter of Echidna, the 'adder.' It would seem that, before the arrival at Thebes of the Minoan conqueror, some monster of indigenous growth had haunted this desert range. Can it be that the older, Minyan stock of Boeotia was itself Hellenic and that the Sphinx, thus transformed, returned to the medium whence it sprang?

The further question arises—though we have to deal with a mythical creation in the guardian Sphinx—does this necessarily entail the conclusion that the hero himself is unhistoric? The explanation that we have simply to do with a nursery story of the kind where the young prince, setting forth to win a kingdom, slays the dragon placed in his path by magic power is good so far as it goes. The Greek 'Swain-foot' attacking the monstrous 'Squeezer' has an air of pure folk-lore. But does this in the present case altogether exclude the possibility that a mythic episode may have attached itself to the career of a historic conqueror? We have here before us a richly bedizened youth dressed in the acme of Minoan or Kadmeian fashion, who certainly conveys the impression of very mundane actuality. The strong presumption, supported by many analogies, that a prince of this ancient stock combined sacerdotal attributes and was himself semi-divine, goes far indeed to explain the apparent incongruity of a mortal slaying a supernatural monster of this class. By right of birth indeed such a scion of a Minoan royal house would be the ordained medium of communication between the Gods and men. In No. 6 above,¹⁸ a princely figure that may in many respects be compared with that on the present intaglio is seen assisting the Goddess to arise from the earth, where an allusion to an annual spring ceremony performed by the

¹⁷ See especially A. D. Keramopoulos, *Οὐβὸς τῆς Ἀρχ. Ἀρχαιολ.*, 1917).

¹⁸ P. 15 Fig. 16.

priest-kings has already been suggested.⁸¹ In other cases sacerdotal or royal figures are attended by guardian monsters. A long-robed priest on one of the Vapheio gems is seen leading a griffin,⁸² and the most probable explanation of the attitude of the painted relief of the priest-king with the plumed crown found in the Palace of Knossos is that he is leading a guardian monster, who may be either a griffin or a sphinx.⁸³ It is not, after all, an unlikely supposition that a young conqueror or princely adventurer on the way to seize the throne of Thebes should be represented as slaying the monster that may already in the imagination of men have infested its approach.

In the scene before us, where the Sphinx puts up a fight, the alternative version of the story, in which the reading of the riddle reduces her to impotence, is excluded. It is possible, therefore, that the form of the saga where Oedipus relies on his weapon to slay the monster, may have been the earliest prevalent among the Greeks.⁸⁴ The weapon that he uses varies in different presentations, and may be a lance or a sword, a club, or even a stone,⁸⁵ and there is no evidence of any direct tradition of the Kadmeian scheme as we see it here. The favourite version in later times is, of course, the Sphinx seated on a rock propounding the riddle. In any case, however, the destruction of a monster as a consequence of the solving of a question or riddle is so widespread in folk stories that it is difficult to separate the two forms of the episode.



FIG. 23.—COMBAT BETWEEN A BOWMAN IN A CHARIOT AND ANOTHER ON FOOT.
FROM INTAGLIO. (†)

No. 12, Pl. III. 2, Fig. 33. Weight 13.23 gm. Combat between a bowman in a chariot and another on foot, in rocky gorge.

This intaglio seems to have a close relation to the preceding. On the right we see apparently the same youthful hero, whose principal arm is in

⁸¹ P. 17.

⁸² *Eg. Apx.* 1889, Pl. X, 32.

⁸³ *See P. of M.*, vol. ii.

⁸⁴ *Hehn, Thebanische Heldensagen*, p. 20 *seq.*, adopts this view. *See, however,*

J. Ilbert, art. 'Sphinx,' *Roscher's Lexikon*, iv, p. 1363 *seq.*

⁸⁵ Materials regarding the form of the combat are collected by O. Höfer, *z.v.* 'Oedipus,' *op. cit.*, II, p. 717 *seq.*

this case a bow, aiming an arrow at a personage in a chariot. A sheath, however, attached to his belt shows that the young warrior also bore a sword. No foot-gear is here visible, but otherwise his dress seems to correspond with that of the youth on No. 11, and displays the same tasseled attachments to his flounced 'trousers.' He stands immediately in the horses' path, in what, from the rocks that frame the upper border, seems to be a rugged defile, so that the horses come to a dead stop, and one of them throws back his neck, as if startled by the onslaught. The man in the chariot is designated by his triple helmet with flying crest as of superior rank, as in other cases where this feature appears. He holds a larger bow and is aiming an arrow in his turn at the aggressor, though his action cannot be so free, since his right hand that pulls the string also grasps the reins. Once more it will be seen that the



FIG. 34.—COMBAT BETWEEN A BOWMAN IN A CHARIOT AND ANOTHER ON FOOT. TAKEN FROM THE ORIGINAL ISTAGLIO. (†)

phototype (Fig. 34), taken from the original ring and not the impression as seen in Fig. 33, shows the manner in which the weapons were actually held. The elder man is depicted as bending forward over the high front of the chariot seat and using the horses' heads and necks to a certain extent as cover. His costume consists of a corslet with openings for the arms at the shoulders, a broad belt and the same flounced and tasseled coverings of the thighs. In neither case is the arrow actually shot, so we are left in doubt as to the result of the encounter. The odds seem to be in favour of the youth, but the older man is partly shielded by the front of the horses. With this element of uncertainty hanging over the encounter, the startled horses and the bending figure behind them, the whole composition is of a naïvely dramatic character.

The chariot and its fittings present special points of interest. The pole itself is not visible; what is seen is what may be called the 'rod of support' running out from the raised front of the car above the level of the horses' backs, with connecting thongs that help to relieve the horses from the weight of the pole. It is thus marked as belonging to the usual Minoan and Mycenaean class. This feature indeed occurs already on the fragment of an old Babylonian stone

relief in the Berlin Museum,⁸⁶ and is preserved in the much later Assyrian types. In the case of the Egyptian chariots, which only begin with the XVIIIth Dynasty, and also in the allied Syrian and Hittite forms, there is only a single pole, without the supporting rod above.

It is to be also noted that the position of the wheel of the Minoan chariot, with its axle, as here, under the centre of the body, differentiates it from the Assyrian and Egyptian classes, where it is placed under the back border of the car.

But while in these respects the chariot conforms to the usual Minoan arrangement, the simple square-cut form of its body supplies a clear mark of distinction from the type in vogue during the latter part of the Minoan and the Mycenaean Age. By that time the body of the chariot had come to be of dual formation, the square anterior section being fitted behind with an additional rounder section, sometimes with a horizontal cross-line, doubtless a wooden bar to strengthen the framework, but which gives it the appearance of a spanned bow fitted with an arrow. This dual type seems to be that which was exclusively in use in the latest epoch of the Palace at Knossos, as evidenced by the incised representations on the clay tablets from the deposit of the Chariot Tablets⁸⁷ and that of the Arsenal.⁸⁸ The chariots, drawn respectively by pairs of horses and griffins, at the two ends of the painted sarcophagus of Hagia Triada,⁸⁹ are of the same form, covered throughout with spotted ox-hides, and these reappear in connexion with similarly arranged bodies on a series of Cypro-Minoan cars. The dual construction, moreover, is clearly marked on the Tiryns wall-painting,⁹⁰ which also gives such a good illustration of the details of the fore-part of the chariot frame. This fresco, which is more or less contemporary with the Hagia Triada sarcophagus and the earlier of the Cypriote designs, belongs to L.M. III. a (Mye. III. a). Taken in connexion with the slightly earlier evidence from the Palace of Knossos, these examples, coupled with a good deal of miscellaneous materials on which it is not necessary here to enter, show that the chariots with this double body constitute a distinct later class⁹¹ which came into fashion apparently somewhere about 1450 B.C., and prevailed during the fourteenth century, and to a later date,

⁸⁶ See E. von Mercklin, *Der Rennwagen in Griechenland* (Leipzig, 1909), I. p. 30. In that case, too, the axle of the wheel was under the centre of the box-like body of the car. In Assyrian chariots, down to at least the time of Sennacherib, the axle is under the back border of the body. (Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 31.) The same system is also followed in the case of a chariot on an Assyrianizing Hittite relief from Saktsche-Göhl, and again on the cylinder of Darius and Persian monuments in general. Oskar Nungesser, *Der Rennwagen im Alterthum* (Leipzig, 1904, Dissertation), has also made a comparative study of the Oriental and Egyptian evidence.

⁸⁷ *Scripta Minus*, II. 42, Fig. 14. Often,

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as in this instance, there are also diagonal lines crossing the square section of the body.

⁸⁸ *Knossos, Report*, 1904, p. 58, Fig. 21 a.

⁸⁹ R. Paribeni, *Il Sarcophago Dipinto di Hagia Triada* (*Mon. Ant.* xix, 1904), IV. III., and pp. 55-62.

⁹⁰ Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, II. p. 97 *seqq.*, p. 98, Fig. 40, and reconstruction in Pl. XII.

⁹¹ Mercklin's observations (*op. cit.* p. 10 *seqq.*) on later Minoan and Mycenaean chariots are vitiated by the wholly unwarranted assumption that the first section shown in the view of the body represents its front, so that the body was really in one piece. He even tries to support this by the drawing of the triple abacus of the Miniature Fresco at Knossos.

wherever the associated culture survived throughout the whole Minoan and Mycenaean world. The posterior curve, moreover, as well as the 'supporting rod' above the horses' backs and linked with the end of the pole, was taken over in a modified shape by 'Geometric' art and has left its traces in the Classical Greek type.

The simple 'box' body, on the other hand, of which we see an illustration in the intaglio before us, answers to an earlier Minoan type which itself reflects much older Oriental models. This plain, more or less square form appears throughout on the Tombstones of the Mycenae Shaft Graves, the earlier of which, as is shown by characteristic points in their decoration, go back at least to the borders of M.M. III.⁸² It recurs in the case of the chariot belonging to the stag-hunting scene on a signet-ring from the Fourth Grave,⁸³ Fig. 35, a companion ring from which grave shows warriors whose attire presents the



FIG. 35.—CHARIOT WITH 'BOX' BODY ON SIGNET-RING FROM IVTH SHAFT GRAVE, MYCENAE. (1)

nearest parallel to the 'tasseled' costume seen on some of the *Thïsbé* intaglios.⁸⁴ On a clay tablet from Tylissos,⁸⁵ belonging to the earliest phase of L.M. I., we see a small 'box' body placed on a large four-wheeled chassis adapted for a wagon, and indeed the form itself goes back to a much earlier class of Minoan four-wheeled wagons, a model of one of which of M.M. La date was found at Palakastro.⁸⁶ The latest and at the same time the most detailed example of this earlier class is on a sardonyx lentoid from the Vaphio Tomb, given here for comparison in Fig. 36. Here, though higher

⁸² Notably the earlier stelas from Grave V, Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 80, Fig. 141, and p. 81, Fig. 140; Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations*, p. 176, Fig. 143, p. 171, Fig. 146. (Cf. *Palace of Minos*, ii.) The latest stela from that grave (W. Reichel, *Die mykenischen Grabsteine*, p. 26, Fig. 1, and prototype, W. A. Heurley, *B.S.A.*, xxv, Pl. XIX.) shows an interesting correspondence between a foliated border

ornament and one which appears on a gold sword-hilt from the same grave (Schl., *Myc.*, p. 307, Fig. 467).

⁸³ Schliemann, *Myc.*, p. 223, Fig. 234.

⁸⁴ See above, p. 28.

⁸⁵ *Ep. 49x*, 1912, p. 214, Fig. 20.

⁸⁶ *Palakastro Excavations*, *B.S.A.*, xxiv, p. 17, Fig. 12. The back wheels here were evidently solid disks.

and curving down behind and upwards in front, we have still essentially the same simple type of body. This example also derives interest from the fact that it shows hatched lines within exactly resembling those that fill the lower part of the framework in the case of the Thiebé chariot, and which, as there, may very probably be taken as an indication of wicker-work. The Vapheio gem is clearly dated by the associated pottery to the later phase of the first Late Minoan Period (L.M. I. b), and, to judge from the Egyptian evidence, is not later than the first half of the fifteenth century B.C.

The chariot on the Thiebé jewel must be regarded as closely related to that of the Vapheio gem, a comparison which in itself supplies a welcome chronological guide, in strict conformity with all our other evidence. It still belongs to the single-bodied type which may be conveniently referred to as Class A.⁶⁶ On the other hand, we have seen that the 'dual' type, with the



FIG. 36.—CHARIOT FROM INTAGLIO OF VAPHEIO TOMB.

bow-shaped exrescence behind, which may be described as Class B, was already in vogue in the last epoch of the Palace at Knossos in the last half of the XVth century B.C., and thenceforth became practically universal throughout the Minoan and Mycenaean world. It follows from this that it would be unsafe to date the Thiebé bead-seal with the chariot scene later than about 1450 B.C.—a conclusion of the greatest value in its bearing on the date of the associated jewels.

As a characteristic example of the 'dual' form of chariot belonging to Class B, I am able for the first time to give an illustration of a remarkable intaglio on an agate ring found in a tomb near the village of Avdu, east of the

⁶⁶ This would correspond with Mevoldin's Type A (*Ältester Typus*), *Der Remwagen in Griechenland*, i. pp. 2-11, in which he rightly includes the chariot on the Vapheio gem referred to above, and those on the Mycenaean Tombstones. But I am unable to follow the account of his 'Typus B,' which includes both 'simple' and 'dual'

types, and is described as '*syriack ägyptisch*,' which it is not. There are, of course, several roughly or imperfectly drawn chariots which cannot be taken as a basis for classification. An amygdaloid intaglio from the Vapheio Tomb (*Ép. 'Apγ.*, 1889, Pl. X. 20) may be taken as an illustration of such doubtful representations.

site of Lyttos,²⁷ exhibiting a chariot of this form drawn by two Cretan wild goats (Fig. 37). In it are two male personages, one holding a forked whip as well as the reins, and the other, seemingly, with his right hand²⁸ on the hilt of a sword or dagger. That in Minoan times chariots should have been a practical form of conveyance in such a rugged region as that of Avdu seems highly improbable; but a prince of that district may well have chosen such a device as a playful allusion to his mountain home. Without reading any mythological signification into the representation, it may yet be recalled that, according to the Edda, goats were yoked to the thunder-chariot of Thor.²⁹

The powerful rendering of the harnessed goats on this signet-ring presents an interesting contrast to the very imperfect designs of the horses on the



FIG. 37.—CHARIOT DRAWN BY WILD GOATS, ON AGATE RING FROM AVDU, NEAR LYTTOS. (f)

Thisbe head-seal and the allied versions from the Fourth Shaft Grave at Mycenae and the Vaphio tomb. The Cretan wild goat had supplied one of the earliest exercises of the Minoan engravers. The horse was a comparative novelty.

From its remarkably fine style, the firm treatment and pure outlines, this signet-ring from Avdu cannot be brought down later than the early phase of the concluding Palace period at Knossos (I.M. II. a), and must therefore be regarded as one of the first examples of the newly introduced 'dual' type

²⁷ This gem was found at a spot called Spelaria, which seems, as in other cases, to refer to chamber tombs, together with an oval chalcedony bead-seal of abnormal type representing a fish. It passed into a dealer's hands at Athens and thence into an American collection. Subsequently, however, I was able to obtain it by exchange. Xanthopoulos mentions it (*Ep. Arch.* 1897, p. 184), but was only able to reproduce it (Pl. VIII. No. 166) from a very imperfect impression. Marekkin, who refers to this

(*op. cit.* p. 20, 18 a), found the details too obscure to be made use of. He need not, however, have described this really fine intaglio as 'von unerfreulich schlechter Zeichnung,' which indeed is exactly the reverse of the strong, pure style and powerful animal drawing here displayed.

²⁸ As seen in the intaglio itself, which, as usual, gives the proper direction.

²⁹ Cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 4th ed., i. p. 133.

of chariot. It illustrates, moreover, a fresh development in the arrangement of the harness. Although many of the illustrations of chariots belonging to Class A, such as those of the Mycenae tombstones, are too imperfect to supply a knowledge of details, it is clear from the Vapheio gem (Fig. 36) and the Thissé jewel (Fig. 33) that according to the earlier system the girth was quite separate from the collar. But in the later type, as seen in Fig. 37 and elsewhere, we find both the girth and the collar brought together above the horses' necks near the attachment to the pole. This development was probably due to Oriental influence,¹⁰⁰ as were certainly the plumes that rise from the horses' heads on a series of Cypro-Minoan chariot types,¹⁰¹ recalling the tassel-like arrangement of the manes seen on the Knossian tablets. On the other hand, horses such as these appear, for instance, on a stela of Amenophis III and on the painted relief of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel.

It is also noteworthy that in the case of the earlier chariots, as seen in the Mycenae tombstones, the Vapheio gem (Fig. 35) and the parallel variety from Knossos in the British Museum, and on the Thissé jewel, there is only a single rider. In the Shaft Grave ring, Fig. 35, above, the appearance of two personages is rather an exception to the rule. In the later 'dual' class, as seen on the agate signet-ring (Fig. 37), the Hagia Triada sarcophagus, the Tiryns fresco and a whole series of late vases, there are apparently invariably two persons in the car,¹⁰² of whom one is the driver.

It is interesting to note that the date of the introduction of the 'dual' chariot types of class B, as fixed by the Cretan evidence referred to above,¹⁰³ seems to have exactly corresponded with that of the first appearance of the Linear Class B of the Minoan script. Both innovations may have been due to the same historic impulse, as to the character of which, however, we have at present no information.

The Thissé intaglio, appearing on one of a set of exceptionally elongated gold beads, and presenting what may well be the same youthful warrior—though his principal weapon is here the bow—might legitimately be regarded as a companion piece to that showing the combat with the Sphinx and as part of the same story. Have we not here too an actual Minoan or Kadmeian version of the preceding episode in the Greek folk-tale of Oedipus? The attack by the youthful hero on foot upon what is evidently from his helmet a man in a position of higher dignity¹⁰⁴ who rides in a chariot—may not this be a Kadmeian anticipation of the murderous onslaught of Oedipus on his royal father Laios? The over-arching rocks indeed might be actually taken to represent the *σχιστή ὁδός* itself—the 'Hollow Way' through which Laios was driving his team. This, apparently, according to the older tradition—that of the *Oidipodia*¹⁰⁵—was in Boeotia itself, near the sanctuary of Hera on Mount Kithaeron.

In the Hellenic version Laios is being driven in a mule wagon or *ἀμύγλη*,

¹⁰⁰ The girth and collar converge on later Assyrian and Persian examples.

¹⁰¹ E.g. *B.M. Excavations in Cyprus*, p. 39, Tomb XII, Nos. 832, 833, 836; Mercklin, *op. cit.*, Pl. I. 19 (Enkomi).

¹⁰² On some of the later Cypriote vases

a third person appears in the rear of the car.

¹⁰³ See p. 23.

¹⁰⁴ See above, p. 32.

¹⁰⁵ See E. Reith, *Phaenische Heldensage*, p. 1 seqq.

which he subsequently presents, with the beast, as *θπερρίπια* to his foster-parent Polybos. There is no mention of the use of a bow in the later tradition, and the only certain presentation of the scene in ancient art bears no resemblance to the Kadmeian version before us. In the subject as it appears on a Roman sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum,¹⁰⁴ a youth with a drawn sword tears a bearded, long-robed personage from his chariot, whose driver vainly tries to urge the horses forward. In the case of this episode there was clearly no continuity of artistic tradition, though we may yet have good warrant for recognising in the scene on the intaglio a Minoan version of that which lived on in Greek saga side by side with the story of Oedipus and the Sphinx.

No. 13, Pl. III. 3. Fig. 38. Weight 10.54 gm. **Princely hero wreaks vengeance on guilty lovers.**

Though this engraved bead is of the same exceptional elongated form as the two preceding, and evidently belongs to the same *parure*, the subject seems better to fit in with the crowning tragedy of the House of Atreus than with the Kadmeian story.



FIG. 38.—PRINCELY HERO WREAKS VENGEANCE ON GUILTY LOVERS.
FROM IMPRESSION. (1)

On the left side of the field (in the intaglio) an elegantly attired male personage falls back on to the ground with his left hand extended, palm outwards, as if still in the act of warding off a blow, and his right lowered towards the hilt of his dagger, which, however, he has not had time to draw. He has every appearance of having been mortally stricken and overthrown by the young warrior in front of him, who has now turned his attention to the female personage who is fleeing from him on the right. Both men wear similar attire, triple helmet with flying crests, in one case with a cheek-piece visible, close-fitting corslets, belt and the usual short trousers with tassels and triple flounces. The belt over the left shoulder is very visible in the case of

¹⁰⁴ *Monumenti inediti dell' Inst.*, 6, 7, Pl. LXVIII. b. Beutner *u. Schoene, Die antiken Bildwerke des Lateran Mus.*, 387,

p. 254; Robert, *Antike Sarkophagreliefs*, ii. Pl. LX.

the second figure, and the sheath hung transversally, from which he has drawn his weapon, is a feature reproduced in the case of the youthful hero attacking the Sphinx on No. 11.

The central actor and protagonist in the scene turns rapidly about and appears to be making a dash towards the flying female figure. In his right hand, as seen on the original, Fig. 39, he grasps the dagger or short sword with which he seems already to have dispatched his rival, and his left is raised as if to seize the lady by the hair of her head. She is depicted as if in abject fright, her head turned towards her pursuer, her right hand palm downwards, her left thrust out before her, starting to run, but with her legs much impeded by her heavy flounced skirt. The tresses of her hair curl up artificially above her forehead and fly out behind her in long, apparently jewelled locks. She appears to be wearing a bodice open at the bosom, and



FIG. 30.—PRINCELY HERO WREAKS VENGEANCE ON GUILTY LOVERS.
FROM ORIGINAL INTAGLIO ON BRASS-BRIL. (1)

below her narrow girdle is an elaborately embroidered gown with flounces showing chevrons and dots, and above these what appears to be an indication of a spiralliform pattern. As we cannot in this case have to do with a Goddess, such surpassing richness of apparel clearly indicates a Queen.

It will be seen that the attitude of the princely protagonist, with the left arm thrown forward, and the bent right knee, closely corresponds with that of the hero attacking the Sphinx on No. 11, and it can hardly be doubted that both designs are by the same hand.¹⁰⁷ We have here a curiously naïve but at the same time powerful presentation of a dramatic scene in which three royal personages, two male and one female, seem to have taken part. Clearly the hero has surprised a guilty pair and proceeds to wreak a summary vengeance.

The scheme agrees too nearly in outline with the fate that befell Aigisthos and Clytemnestra at the hands of Orestes not to suggest the conclusion that we have here again, as in the case of the Oedipus story, an actual illustration of ancient tragedy, which here at least may correspond to historic fact, of a date not later than the early part of the fifteenth century B.C.

¹⁰⁷ The young prince helping to assist of the earth on No. 6, Fig. 16, also presents a near analogy in pose and style.

The double lines beneath the design may in this case indicate a palace floor or court, as in the last example they mark the road beneath the chariot. The rocks round the upper margin would at any rate be appropriate to the position of Mycenae. In considering the design itself it is always necessary to bear in mind the simplifying and selective process that is an essential feature in the art of gem-engraving. The strict limitation in the number of the actors in the scene on the intaglio does not mean that in a fuller illustration of the same subject there would not be others in a secondary plane. The absence of a throne or palatial furniture is by itself of no great import; that such were at hand is indeed connoted by the truly royal attire of the female personage.

In the *Odyssey* attention is concentrated on the usurper Aigisthos, who, after reigning seven years in Mycenae, 'rich in gold,' is slain by Orestes to avenge his father, Agamemnon.¹⁰⁸ But as we are further told that, 'having slain him, he made a tomb both for his hateful mother and for the cowardly Aigisthos,' there does not seem to be any good reason for supposing Homer to have been ignorant of the tradition of the double vengeance. 'Ανάλκτε is certainly the fitting epithet for the prostrate figure in the scene before us.

On the other hand, in the form in which the death of Aigisthos and Clytemnestra is set forth in later Greek art it is impossible to trace any connexion with the earlier presentment of a similar tragedy as seen in the Thisbō intaglio. Greek renderings of this subject only appear late, under the influence of the tragic poets, and though the paintings such as Pausanias saw in the Picture Gallery of the Propylaea at Athens,¹⁰⁹ or the *μητροκτονία* 'Ορέστου of Theōn of Samos referred to by Plutarch,¹¹⁰ may have left an uncertain echo in sarcophagus reliefs of Roman date,¹¹¹ it is to the designs of a series of red-figured vases that we have to turn for our earliest evidence. On these we see Aigisthos as a bearded man stabbed, usually on his throne, by Orestes, who at the same time seizes the hair of his head and is in the act of hurling him down. Clytemnestra is depicted as a truculent virago, who has seized a double axe—the weapon of her previous murder—and is only prevented from dispatching Orestes by the intervention of his companion, Pylades, or of the herald Talthybios.¹¹²

One link between the story itself as it appears in Greek tradition and pre-Hellenic times cannot at any rate be ignored. The name of the villain of the

¹⁰⁸ *Od.*, iii. v. 300 seqq. 1

¹⁰⁹ *Ἐν δὲ αἰ ἡρόδοτος καὶ τοὶ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ Ὀρέστῃ καὶ Ἀγαστῇ, κατὰ δὲ ἑταρὴν περὶ τοιοῦτα, Αἰγισθὸν διδάσκειν, ὅτι αἱ πατρίαι κληρίαι ἑταίροις ἐ τοῖς ἀνέκτοις δαίει τὸν ἄνδρα Ἀγαστῆν κατὰ τοὺς ἀνέκτοις καὶ ἀνέκτοις Αἰγισθῆν.*

¹¹⁰ *I.*, c. 22, 6.

¹¹¹ *Ant. Port.* 15 a.

¹¹² As, for instance, the Barbarini Sarcophagus (Visconti, *Mus. Pio-Clem.*, v. 22. Compare on this subject A. Baumeister's art. 'Orestes' in his *Denkmäler d. klass.*

Altertums, ii. p. 1112 seqq. The archaising relief from Arimin, in which Clytemnestra simply tries to hold back Orestes (*Arch. Ztg.*, 1849, Pl. XL), stands quite by itself.

¹¹³ The best representation (where Talthybios intervenes) is on the Vienna Vase (*Mon. Inst.*, viii. Pl. XV; Reinach, *Repertoire*, Vol. I. p. 169, 1, 2). Baumeister, *op. cit.* ii. p. 1114, observes that the imitation shown in this design 'den alten ähnlichen Darstellungen zu Grunde liegenden Originale ohne Zweifel am nächsten kommt.'

piece, *Aiyathos*, shows a direct affinity with the most characteristic of old Cretan and kindred Philistine and Anatolian forms that has been preserved to us. On the 'London Tablet' of XVIIIth Dynasty date, a wooden slab with a list of Keftian names for school use,¹¹³ it appears in the form *Akashau*, rightly compared with the Philistine Achish (LXX. 'Αχχ'ς, 'Αχχου'ς). An *Iriatuu*, King of Idalion, is mentioned among tributary Cyprian princes on inscriptions of the Assyrian kings Esarhaddon and Assur-bani-pal,¹¹⁴ though whether the name reached Cyprus through Mycenaean or, in its adoptive shape, through later Achaean-Arcadian intrusion may not be easy to determine. But the occurrence of this in an XVIIIth dynasty record as a prominent Keftian, otherwise Minoan, name is specially important. Thanks to the tomb-paintings on the one hand and a series of Minoan vase finds on the other, we can fix the period of intensive connexion round about 1500 B.C., and as contemporary with the mature L.M. I. ceramic phase. It seems quite possible that, either in Crete or in Mainland Greece, some Minoan king of this name held sway at that time, and, if so, any tragedy with which he was connected must go up far beyond the date of the Trojan War. It does not seem probable, indeed, that Egyptian schoolboys would have been taught the orthography of the Minoan form of 'Aegisthos' unless he had been a personage of international account.

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE RELATIONS AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE THISBE INTAGLIOS

Apart from the first three bead-seals of the 'flattened cylinder' type, to be probably referred to the earlier L.M. I. phase, the intaglios of the Thisbe Treasure must be taken to belong to two inter-related groups. It is hardly necessary here to repeat the instances of correspondence in detail of the men's costume as seen on the 'amygdaloid' bead-seals and those of the elongated oval class—the close-fitting corslet, the tasseled flounces, the triple helm seen on one or other example. The resemblance presented by the attitude of the youth who helps the Goddess to rise from the earth seems itself to bespeak the same hand as that which engraved the prototypes of Oedipus and Orestes on Nos. 11-13. Subordinate features such as the double ground-lines are identical, as is the shape of the vegetable shoots that rise from them on Nos. 6 and 11.

That these designs are relatively early in the Late Minoan or Mycenaean series, and cannot be brought down as late as L.M. III., is further evident from several close comparisons. The men's costume as a whole stands in a close relation to that seen in the signet-ring from the Fourth Shaft Grave at Mycenae presenting the scene of combat. The type in which liquid is poured from a jug into a large handled jar was, as has been shown, in existence

¹¹³ W. Max Müller, *Die Urkunden der Philister* (Mith. d. vorderasiatischen Ges., 1900, pp. 1-13); *Asien und Europa*, p. 359 n.

¹¹⁴ G. Smith, *Hist. of Assyria*, p. 31; Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, I. p. 322. The name of a contemporary King of Ekron,

which appears as *Ikronu* in Assyrian inscriptions, seems to be intended to represent the Philistine form of the name. G. F. Moore, art. 'Philistines,' *Encycl. Bibl.*, iii. p. 3317; *Kleinasiatische Bibliothek*, II. 148-240.

by the last Palace period at Knossos (L.M. II.). The form of the chariot on No. 12, with its single body, is also of special importance as representative of the earlier class which in the later Palace at Knossos had already been superseded by the 'dual' type seen in Fig. 37 above, which henceforward seems to have become universal in the Minoan and Mycenaean world. The detailed resemblance of the framework of the body in the case of the Thisbê intaglio with that of the chariot on the Vaphelô gem (Fig. 36), may be thought to supply a definite indication that it belongs to the same cultural phase, which we know from the associated pottery to have been L.M. I. b. This conclusion would involve a date round about 1500 B.C. for the whole of the later group of the Thisbê jewels, a result which squares well with the other evidence, positive and negative, at our disposal.

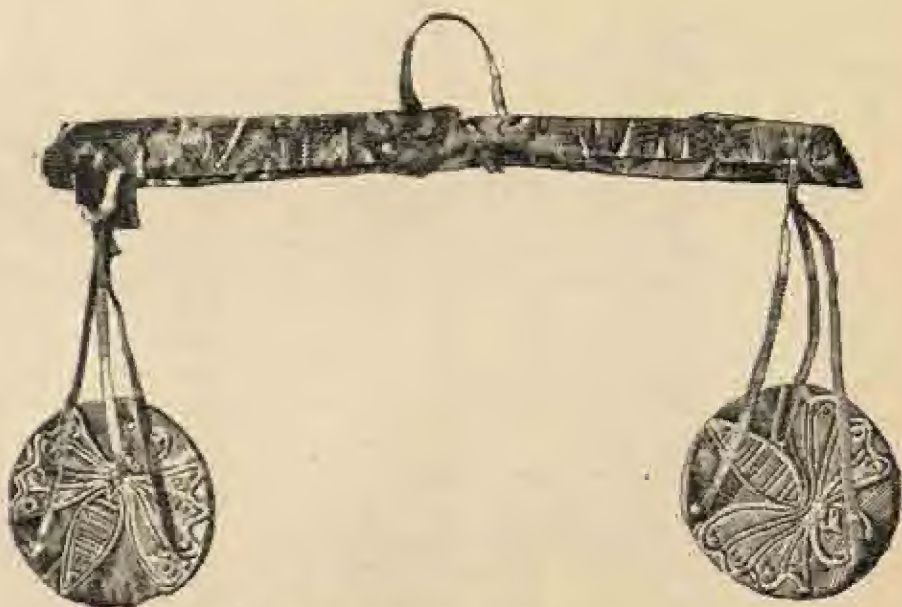


FIG. 40.—FUNERAL BALANCE; THIS GOLD PLATE, WITH EMBOSSED BUTTERFLIES ON SCALES. THIRD SHANT GRAVE, MYCENAE (AS RESTORED BY DR. G. KÄRÖ). SEE BELOW, pp. 59, 60.

PART II

'THE RING OF NESTOR': A GLIMPSE INTO THE MINOAN AFTER-WORLD

'NESTOR'S PYLOS': THE BEEHIVE TOMBS OF KAKOVATOS

IN pursuing his Homeric investigations on the western coast of the Morea, Dr. Dörpfeld in 1907 made a series of archaeological discoveries which go far to show that Nestor's Pylos was not, as Leake and others supposed, at the Messenian site of that name on the Bay of Navarino, but, in accordance with the view of Homeric students,—the *Ὀμπικώρετος*, cited by Strabo,—within the Triphylian borders.¹

Here, in fact, on a bluff known as Kakovatos, rising about 60 m. above the Kalydona brook and commanding what was known as the Pylian Plain that stretches, with its lagunes and sandy shore, from the ancient site of Samikon to Kyparissia, he found a prehistoric acropolis and the remains of three great beehive tombs like those of Mycenae.² His party came on a gang of peasants actually engaged in removing blocks from the circular wall of the largest of these for building material. This tholos had an interior diameter of 12·12·10 m., giving, by analogy with the Mycenae tombs, a more or less equal measurement, or nearly 40 feet, for the original height of the vault. The destruction of other ancient walls had also brought to light the lower part of the walling of the two other similar tholoi. The tholos mentioned above (A) showed a sepulchral pit about 2 m. long and 0·70 m. broad, with two of its massive covering slabs lying near, which in Dr. Dörpfeld's opinion had originally contained the royal corpse. Both this and the floor of the chamber itself had been entirely ransacked and what was left of the original contents was thrown about in the utmost confusion.

Such relics as could be extracted and other scattered remains of a similar character brought out of the deposit within the other two grave circles have been described by Dr. Kurt Müller,³ and a series of magnificent amphorae, put together by him and his coadjutors after arduous labours, is now in the National Museum at Athens. These represent the purest work of Minoan

¹ Strabo, viii. c. 3, 7.

² *Ath. Mitt.*, xxxii. (1907), Supplément: *Tiryns, Olympia, Pylos*, p. vi. seqq.

³ For his first summary account see *Ath.*

Mith., xxxii. *loc. cit.*, pp. xi-xiv. His full Report is given, *Ath. Mitt.*, xxxiv. (1909), p. 269 seqq.



FIG. 41.—L.M. 1.9, AMPHORA FROM TROLOS A. ('NESTOR'S TOMB')
AT NAKOVATOR.

ceramic artists, whether executed in Crete itself or in a colonial settlement on the Mainland side.

The great majority of them represent the style L.M. I. *b*, which immediately precedes the mature Palace Style (L.M. II.) of Knossos. In some cases, however, they go back to the earlier phase, *a*, of Late Minoan I.³ and a good example of this is supplied by the amphora, a restoration of which is given in Fig. 41.

The earliest relics contained in the 'Tomb of Nestor' at Kakovates—like the ring itself—in fact indicate that its construction dates from the earlier half rather than the close of the sixteenth century B.C. In view of the cumulative evidence now before us, indeed, it is high time to recognise—with all its consequences—that the first construction of this beehive type of sepulchre at Mycenae itself is coeval with the date of the earliest contents of the Shaft Graves, and comes within the limits of the Middle Minoan Age. The steatite jars, remains of which were found by Mrs. Schliemann and others in the Clytemnestra tomb,⁴ are inseparable in their form and characteristic reliefs from the 'Medallion pithoi' of the Royal Stores at Knossos dating from the closing phase of the Middle Minoan Palace, and the fragments of stone ewers with plait-work decoration also found must be placed in the same category. So, too, the constituent parts of several stone bowls that occurred in the dromos of the 'Treasury of Atreus' exhibit the grooves and the circular holes for the insertion of inlay that mark a series of similar bowls obtained from the NW. Iustral Area of the Palace, in association with plait-work ewers like the above and the alabastron lid of the Hyksos King, Khyun. No stone vases of any of these types are known of Late Minoan date.

The details of the magnificent façade of the 'Atreus' tomb themselves find their nearest parallels in the ornamental fragments, the spiral reliefs and under-cut rosettes from the South Propylæum of the restored Palace at Knossos. They bespeak the crowning technical achievement of that great transitional epoch which links the latest Middle to the earliest Late Minoan.

It is clear that at the time when these sepulchral vaults make their first appearance in Mainland Greece they were already as regards their decorative details thoroughly 'Minoized,' while the relics that formed part of their original contents were almost exclusively of Cretan origin, often of specifically Knossian fabric. The same is true of the Megaron type of old Anatolian

³ Unfortunately in the recently published account of the investigations of the British School at Mycenae to which all are indebted for a rich accession of materials, including the most painstaking records and admirable plans (*B.S.A.*, xxv.), the term 'Helladic'—useful enough for the earlier periods—has been extended to include the Mycenaean Age. It starts from the assumption that the earlier phase at Mycenae represents the result not of actual conquest and the abrupt and wholesale displacement of a lower by an incomparably higher form

of culture but of a gradual 'Minoization' of the native Helladic community. If this, as I believe, untenable position is given up, the whole *maison d'être* for the term 'Late Helladic' ceases to exist. It is a great pity, indeed, that the name Mycenaean, which was already to hand and is generally intelligible, should be thus discarded.

⁴ See Note on the Steatite 'Medallion pithoi' from the Tomb of Clytemnestra at the end of this paper (p. 74).

tradition,⁴ with its symmetrically arranged central hearth, that appears in company with them. As to the actual area in which this assimilating process had already effected itself the evidence is still to seek. The intermediate links are wanting, but there are some indications that the highly developed form of circular vaulted chamber itself may yet be remotely connected with the primitive beehive ossuaries of Crete, the origin of which in turn takes us beyond the Libyan Sea. That the construction of circular vaulted chambers continued in Crete to the beginning of the Late Minoan Age is shown by the recent discovery on the Minoan site of Arkhanes near Knossos of remains of a finely built monument of that class, designed for a well-house and belonging to the very beginning of the First Late Minoan Period.⁵

Some indication of the actual motive or chain of circumstances that led Minoan princes, both at Kakovatos and at the Messenian Pylos, where similar tholoi occur, to establish themselves in key positions on the western shore of the Morea may well be supplied by the abundance of amber beads and ornaments brought to light in these tombs. These stand in close geographical connexion with the Adriatic trade.

A remarkable discovery which I am now able to lay before the Society shows that it was not only blocks for building material that the peasants had been able to carry off from the larger tholos, known as the 'Tomb of Nestor.' In the massive gold signet-ring (Fig. 42), originally, no doubt, contained in the grave pit itself, they had secured an object which outweighs in interest anything that the careful researches of the German explorers were able subsequently to bring to light.

On the death of the peasant who had the good luck to find it, the ring passed into the possession of his son, who in course of time ceded it to the owner of a neighbouring vineyard. On information reaching me of its existence from a trustworthy source, I made a special journey into that somewhat inaccessible part of Greece and was finally able to secure it.

The Signet-ring: Origin of Funereal 'Pendant' Type.

The ring is of solid gold and weighs 31.5 grammes (Fig. 42). The hoop shows a well-defined central ridge with large beading and a smaller beaded circlet round each margin. Both the originally prominent gold beading and the hoop itself showed signs of having been crushed out of shape. Its inner

⁴ At the date when Minoan elements first impose themselves on the Peloponnese the predominant type of house belonged to the 'special' class. This is seen at Tiryns, Korakou, and elsewhere in the stratum immediately preceding the 'Mycenaean' and seems to have been implanted there, in company with cist-graves containing contracted skeletons and bronze implements of peculiar type, by 'Minoan' intruders from North of the Gulf. The

fixed hearth type of rectangular dwelling is common to both sides of the Aegean and, indeed, to late Neolithic Crete. But so far as the evidence goes, the Mycenaean type of Megaron shows most analogies with the Anatolian. Anyhow, it could not have been evolved *in situ* from an antecedent type not to be found there in the preceding period.

⁵ See *Antiquaries Journal*, 1922, p. 320, Figs. 1, 2.

diameter is thus 17 mm. broad and only 12 from the back of the bezel, which would point to 14.5 mm. as the original inner width of the hoop.

This diameter is too small for the fingers either of a man or a woman, which may be said to require hoops ranging from about 17 mm. in the case of a woman to 19 or more in that of a man, and no one would for a moment entertain the idea that this massive signet-ring was intended for a child. Abnormal smallness of the loop is, however, exemplified by a series of Minoan and Mycenaean rings from sepulchral deposits, and I was myself at one time inclined to seek the explanation in some double rite of interment in which, in the final stage, a ring was fitted on the finger-bone itself. A simpler explanation, however, is to be found in the antecedent history of the Minoan ring type itself as illustrated by an ivory specimen from a primitive tholos ossuary at Kumasa in the Mesará district of Crete (Fig. 43).²—The associations of this ring place it within the limits of the last Early Minoan period, and the design that it bears of two ants in reversed positions is itself an adaptation of the reversed lion types that came into vogue in Egypt about the close of the Vth Dynasty. This ivory signet already presents, in place of the usual round form, the characteristic Minoan feature of an oval bezel placed at right angles to the hoop, and to this particularity is added the triple moulding of the hoop—or rather tube—itsself, which is of constant recurrence in Minoan and Mycenaean signet-rings, including the present example from Nestor's Pylos. But the ivory signet, like others of its class with a round bezel, was made for suspension and is provided with a tube intended for some kind of string or chain. The later sepulchral type of Minoan signet-ring must be regarded as a survival of this early type, which in fact represents a 'bead-seal,' and as a ceremonial reminder of the times when signets were universally worn suspended round the neck or wrist.

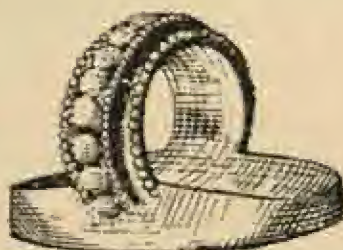
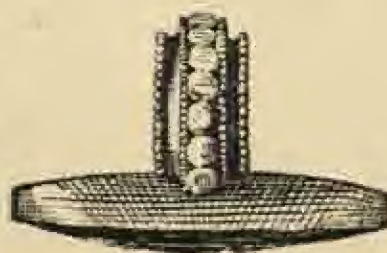


FIG. 42.—'THE RING OF NESTOR.' (1)

² I first called attention to the importance of this specimen in my preface to *Xanthoudides' Fouilles de Messara*,

trans. J. P. Droop, pp. vii, viii; the ring is illustrated, *Pl. IV.* 546.

The transversally elongated bezel which characterises the whole later class of signet-rings would thus owe its shape to the attachment of the plate bearing the intaglio to what was essentially a tubular bead. Gold beads of this class with decorative ridges were found in the cemetery of Platanos⁶ in a medium belonging to the earliest Middle Minoan phase (c. 2000 B.C.). In all probability the ivory seal (Fig. 43) itself reflects such a metal prototype, consisting of a tubular gold bead with an engraved plate attached to it longitudinally. The signet-ring as worn on the finger was thus evolved from the bead-seal of earlier usage forming part of a necklace or bracelet.

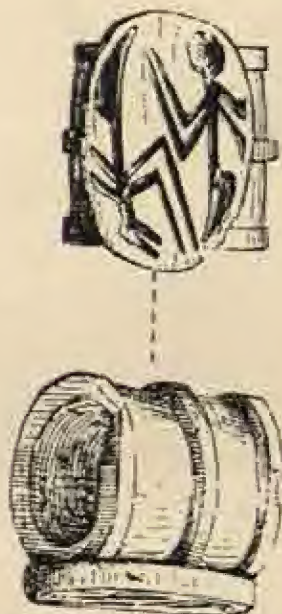


FIG. 43.—IVORY PENDANT SEAL FROM THEBES, EGYPT. (1)

The example before us is remarkable, not only for its massive fabric and old-time Minoan form, but even more from the unrivalled wealth of illustration presented by its intaglio and the deep interest of the subject of its designs. Including those of monstrous or animal forms, no less than sixteen figures are depicted on its field, while the composition as a whole gives us the first glimpse into the Elysian fields of Minoan and Mycenaean religion, and throws a singular light on the eschatology of the pre-classical age in Greece. The subject is thus in keeping with the funereal destination implied by the ring-type itself.

'Tree of the World' rather than Rivers of Paradise.

The field itself is divided into four compartments by a rather thick upright object with two horizontal arms of slightly less width, all of them somewhat sinuous, while, below, the main division opens out on either side, supplying thus a base for the two lower compartments. The subject as seen in the impression is given in Fig. 44. A photographic representation taken directly from the signet is shown in PL IV. 1.

It will be seen at once that this central object with its two arms is capable of two obvious interpretations. It might either be taken to represent the trunk of a tree with two horizontal branches and spreading roots below, or it might be regarded as a river with two lateral streams running into it and itself debouching on a bay of the sea.

The latter interpretation at once brings to mind the passage in Genesis: 'And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads.'⁷ The names of the rivers are there given⁸ as Pison, Gihon, Hiddekel and Euphrates, and, without attempting

⁶ *Vaulted Tombs of Mesara*, Pl. LVII. 472, 473.

⁷ Gen. ii. 10.

⁸ Gen. ii. 11 *seqq.*

to discuss Delitzsch's specific identification of them with Babylonian rivers,⁹ the general indebtedness of the Hebrew account to old Babylonian tradition must certainly be admitted. The river of Paradise itself, in its geographical sense, may be, as Sayce has suggested, the Persian Gulf, and the four streams 'the rivers of the four regions of the earth, which were fed by the Ocean stream that girdled the earth and descended from the sky.'¹⁰ A very early parallel, moreover, from the Caucasian side is supplied by the engraved designs on the silver vase from Maikop.¹¹ On this we see a circular



FIG. 44.—PHOTOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION OF PART OF 'RING OF NESTOR.' (1)

pool into which two streams run down from a line of mountains, different regions being distinguished by the various animals and birds on their banks. The form as well as the material of this vase is in a rough and provincial style, but the engraved designs show sufficient affinity to the celebrated silver vase of Entemena¹² to warrant us in concluding that this work is dependent on Sumerian models of the early part of the Third Millennium before our Era.

Something analogous may also be traced in the triple-branched water-

⁹ E. Delitzsch, *Was lag das Paradies?* p. 7 *seqq.*

¹⁰ Sayce, *Academy*, Oct. 7, 1882, p. 263. Cf. T. K. Chyrie, art. 'Paradise' in *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

¹¹ It was found in a grave at Maikop in the Kuban Valley, in a monumental kurgan excavated by Vasekovski. Cf. Prof. M.

Rostakowski, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford, 1922), pp. 19, 20, and for the vase, p. 23 *seqq.* and Fig. 2.

¹² Hentzy, *Decouvertes en Chaldée*, Pl. XLIII, 61a. Entemena reigned at Lagash, according to L. W. King (*Sumer and Akkad*, p. 161 *seqq.* and Appendix II), about 2900 B.C.

courses of the Fields of Ialû in the Egyptian 'Islands of the Blest,' along which a dead man is seen paddling his bark in the Papyrus of Nebhopit,¹² where indeed the channel that broadens out below the confluence of the other two might stand for the haven of arrival from across the Great Water.¹³

That similar conceptions regarding streams that separated various regions in the Land of the Dead may have been shared by Minoan Crete is probable enough. The idea of a river or gulf to be passed by the departing soul on its way thither is itself of world-wide occurrence.¹⁴ Alluring, however, as it may seem to see in the central representation of the signet-ring a parallel to the rivers of Paradise debouching on the 'stream of Ocean,' a detailed analysis of the whole design must be regarded as fatal to this hypothesis.

The convex formation of the upright dividing object in the middle of the field has no resemblance to water, but its rough and sinewy surface shows the unmistakable features of the trunk of an old tree. The same must be said of the branches on either side, and their almost horizontal projection can easily be paralleled by some of the ancient plane trees and evergreen oaks of Crete.¹⁵ The trunk itself rises from a kind of mound, the incisions on which may be taken as a summary attempt to indicate vegetation. Couched on the bank, moreover, is an animal, apparently intended for a dog guarding the base of the tree, and the position of this is alone sufficient to exclude the idea that the engraver intended to depict here an arm of the sea.

It is further observable, as will be shown below, that the subject illustrated by the figures in the two lower compartments is continuous, which could not be the case if, in place merely of an intervening trunk, there were a main river-channel.

What we have, then, before us is unquestionably a tree, old and gnarled, standing, as it would appear, with spreading roots on the top of a mound or hillock. With its trunk rising in the centre of the field and the flanks horizontally divided in the same way by the bare horizontal boughs, the tree really served an analogous purpose with the rivers in the alternative scheme of the Earthly Paradise in delimiting the whole area into four spaces, used, as will be seen, to develop an eschatological scheme.

Trees as the object of religious cult or in an obviously sacral connexion with shrines or divinities are of frequent appearance in Minoan and Mycenaean art.¹⁶ But it may safely be said that none of these representations, which on signet-rings especially are so notably conspicuous, offer any real comparison with that before us. They may all be taken to refer to individual shrines or holy places, where they sometimes serve as a religious background.

¹² Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*, p. 194 (from Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, II. V.).

¹³ The underground river system of Greek eschatology, which, as developed in Plato's *Phaedo*, has its beginning and ending in the great central reservoir of Tartarus, also presents points of comparison. See on this P. Friedländer, *Die Anfänge der Erd- und Höllegeographie* (*Jahrb. d. arch. Inst.*,

xxix., 1914, p. 28 *sup.*).

¹⁴ Cf. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II. (2nd ed.), 97.

¹⁵ The spray beside the lion on the right (as seen in the impression) cannot itself be brought into the argument. It has, as will be shown, an independent origin.

¹⁶ See my *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*, *passim* (*J.H.S.* xxi. (1901), pp. 99-204, and Macmillan).

But the great tree, so schematically figured, that forms the centre of the 'Ring of Nestor' is of a different kind. It overshadows the whole subject and its trunk and boughs divide a series of scenes belonging rather to the Minoan Under-world than to any ordinary worship of the upper air.

The one obvious and largely satisfying comparison is, in fact, supplied, in a very distant quarter, by the old Scandinavian 'Tree of the World,' the Ash of Odin's steed, Yggdrasil.¹⁸ The branches of this greatest of all trees stretch over the whole world and shoot upwards to the sky. One of its three roots reaches to the divine Aesir, another to the land of the Giants, the third to the Under-world (*hella*), and beneath each of these is a wonder-working spring. The eagle and squirrel sit on its branches and four stags on its roots, which are gnawed by the loathly serpent, Nidhöggr.

It was long since pointed out by Grimm¹⁹ that certain elements that are undoubtedly parallel to those of the Northern myth, among them the dragon gnawing at the roots, reappear in an Arab fable²⁰ of which early translations, Hebrew, Latin and Greek, are known. This in turn received widespread notoriety from being taken over by John of Damascus (c. 740 A.D.) in Βαβυλων καὶ Ἰωάννου. Grimm, however, was of the opinion, probably justified, that though the two stories were undoubtedly connected, the resemblance was not close enough to warrant the view that the Scandinavian Ash of Yggdrasil actually owed its origin to this Arabian source.²¹ At the same time there can be little doubt that the same Oriental origin can be traced in medieval Greek legends of the 'Tree of Paradise' that rose, sky-high, beside the waters of its four rivers. This tree according to the XVth Century poem of the Cretan writer Georgios Chummos of Candia,²² was surrounded by wild beasts, who crouched upon its roots which, like those of its congeners in the East and North, shot their fibres deep down into the abyss. It is moreover interesting to note that, like the tree on the ring, its branches were naked and bereft of foliage.²³

The Oriental comparison is all the more valuable since both versions must evidently go back to some still earlier tradition of the 'Tree of the World.' In the present case the hound-like animal at the base of the trunk, crouched on the bank with his head forward, may be thought to present some analogy with the dragon of the Arabian and Northern story, who gnawed the roots of the tree and scared those who approached it. The hound that

¹⁸ The Ash is either 'Yggdrasill's Ash' or 'Yggdrasil's Ash,' or 'Ash of Yggdrasil' = 'the Ash, Yggdrasil.' See Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie* (1878 ed.) lii. p. 55.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, ii. pp. 666, 667.

²⁰ In *Qullān et Dimna*, ed. Silvestre de Sacy, *Mém. Asiat.*, pp. 28, 29; ed. Kuntchbull, pp. 80, 81.

²¹ The Ash of Yggdrasil in turn influenced mediæval accounts of the Cross. The author of *De discalce Officio*, wrongly attributed to Alouin (cf. Grimm, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 665), says of it, 'ipsa arbor magnam in se mysterium continet, cujus positio talis

est ut superior pars coelos petat, inferior terrene inhæreat, fixa infernorum ima conligat, latitudo autem ejus partes mundi appetat.'

²² See *Old Testament Legends, from a Greek Poem on Genesis and Exodus by Georgios Chummos* by Mr. F. H. Marshall, who kindly called my attention to the parallel description of the 'Tree of Paradise,' *Op. cit.*, p. 24 *supra*.

²³ In this case the tree was bereft of bark as well as leaves, v. 75, 76:

'Απεφύλακτος ἔστιν τὰ φύλλα καὶ τὸ φλοιὸν, ἔστιν ἵψος καὶ ὑπερλίανος, τὰ φύλλα καὶ ὑπερλίανος.

on the ring is seen acting as guardian of the World Tree may legitimately be regarded as the Minoan forerunner of Cerberus, and it may be observed that the canine monster of the deep who seems to have anticipated Skylla in Cretan seas also has only a single head.²²

The Minoan Goddess and Attendant

Taking the designs on the intaglio in the order in which they appear in the impression, as enlarged to four diameters in Fig. 44, and by Monsieur E. Gilliéron in Fig. 55, we see in the upper left compartment, above



FIG. 45.—MINOAN GODDESS WITH FEMALE COMPANION AND BUTTERFLIES AND CHRYSALIDES ABOVE HER HEAD. INITIAL SUBJECT OF RING FROM SKETCH BY MONS. E. GILLIERON, AS ENLARGED 10 DIAMETERS.

the bough on that side, what are clearly two separate groups. The first of these consists of two female figures seated much in the manner of the lady spectators in the front row of the Miniature Fresco of Knossos, and gesticulating to one another in the same way. The appearance of the Goddess with an adult handmaiden seated before her has been already illustrated in the subject of a gold ring from the Thiasé Treasure.²³ In one form or another

²² *P. of M.*, i. p. 698, Fig. 520.

²³ See above, p. 11, Fig. 11, and Pl. II. 1.

this companionship is set forth on a series of Minoan and Mycenaean signets,²⁴ while in some cases, as on the large signet from Mycenae, more than one adult ministrant appears in addition to the two child attendants described above as *Δας κοῦραι*, who here recur in the next compartment.

Chrysalises and Butterflies: Symbols of Life Beyond.

That the seated figure here seen on the left was in fact endowed with divine attributes that had a relation to the spirits of the departed is shown by the very significant adjuncts that appear immediately above her head. Fluttering near and almost settling on it are two butterflies, and above these in turn two other objects in which, from their form and the associations in which they appear, it seemed reasonable to recognise two corresponding chrysalises. They present, however, the peculiarity of showing what appears to be their heads at top and hook-like projections at the sides, apparently for attachment. The effect of the whole is well shown by M. Gilléron's sketch (Fig. 45), where the original is enlarged ten diameters.

I accordingly referred the matter to Professor Poulton, the eminent entomological authority, with an accompanying enlarged sketch of the objects in question. Professor Poulton, who has taken up the matter with the greatest interest, replied at once: 'I do not think that there is the slightest doubt that the two objects above the butterflies represent chrysalises.' Although the summary character of the execution on so minute a scale hardly allows for certainty in such details, he even recognised in the objects as interpreted in my sketch traces of the wing venation of the pupal wings and of the abdominal segments. He further remarks that 'the commonest of all pupae—the "Common Whites"—are attached, either horizontally or, as shown in this case, head upwards, by a girdle round the middle, which I have no doubt is represented by the tag shown to the left of the figures.'

In a subsequent communication to the Entomological Society²⁵ he notes that my sketch, 'as photographed and projected on the screen, evidently represented two Pierine chrysalises in one of the normal positions, viz. vertical with head upwards,' and that the attachment mentioned above 'was clearly one of the fixed and expanded ends of the silken girdle by which these pupae are supported.' In Fig. 46 (*a*) beside a delineation of the Common White butterfly itself, a somewhat diagrammatic sketch of its chrysalis is given showing the hoop and attachment. The smooth unindented contour of the wings in the case of the butterflies is also characteristic of the Whites.

This identification, backed as it is by the specific correspondence visible in the chrysalises, may be unhesitatingly accepted, both the Common and the Large White butterfly being abundant in Greece and Crete. Although

²⁴ A good example is afforded by a gold signet-ring from Mycenae (*Mycenaean Treasures and Pillar Cult*, p. 92, Fig. 64), where the Goddess is seated before a pillar shrine holding a mirror, and a female attendant stands before her, none perhaps in the

attitude of converse than of actual adoration. Compare too for other versions *op. cit.*, p. 79, Fig. 53, and the Thistle intaglio, p. 11, Fig. 11, above.

²⁵ *Proc. Ent. Soc. Lond.*, 1924, lxxix. seqq.

that butterflies are departed spirits is common the world over, but, as already noted, there is evidence that this belief has attached itself in a particular way to white butterflies or moths.²⁸ A further familiar illustration of this is supplied by the Ghost moth,²⁹ the white wings of which, as shown by their upper surface—intermittently eclipsed by the up-turn of their dark under-sides—may often be seen flickering about the mounds of grassy churchyards.

The chrysalis as an emblem of a new life after death is illustrated by two finds made at Mycenae. In the Third Shaft Grave—a woman's tomb—were found two pendent gold objects attached by means of a perforation through the upper ends to small chains, described by Dr. Schliemann as ‘grasshoppers’ or ‘tree-crickets,’³⁰ but which are unquestionably intended for chrysalises (Fig. 52, 4). They were, in fact, associated in the same tomb with golden butterflies, referred to below, two of them embossed on the plates of what had been scales of a funeral class (Figs. 40, 52, 2). These very rough representations of pupae have now been supplemented by a much more detailed example in the form of a gold chrysalis head found by Mr. Wace and the excavators of the British School in a chamber tomb at Mycenae³¹ (Fig. 47). It may be said to convey a generalised idea of a chrysalis, possibly of a hawk-moth. The head and eyes, the wing-cases and articulation of the abdomen are clearly indicated, though there is no sign of a proboscis sheath—a prominent feature in the pupae of some moths of this class.



FIG. 47.—GOLD CHRYSALIS, MYCENAE.

That other lepidoptera besides the Common White were regarded as belonging to the World of Spirits is demonstrated by the character of the golden butterflies found with the chrysalises in the Third Shaft Grave, as

his translation of the passage in *The Works of Aristotle*, Vol. IV., p. 561 a (Oxford, 1910), from the mention of *enkidos* (*paperoi* or *epidos*) as the food-plant of the caterpillar, concluded that the insect referred to was the common white, also known as the cabbage butterfly. (Quoted by Poulton, *op. cit.*, p. lxxxi.)

²⁸ Some good instances are given by Prof. Poulton, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxxi, lxxxii. Dr. Thomas Hardy, in reference to an incident in the ‘Superstitions Man’s Story’ in *Life’s Little Trivia*, informed him that a common white moth is called the ‘Miller’s Soul’ because it flies out of a man’s mouth at the moment of death. Prof. Poulton also quotes a passage in D. G. Rossetti’s *Sister Helen*, who visited the wax image of her faithless lover, crying out, when the end came:

‘Ah, what white thing at the door has
recessed?’

‘A soul that’s lost as mine is lost.’

See James Frazer in the *Golden Bough* (Vol. I, (1890), p. 136) notices the Burmese belief that when a mother dies leaving a young baby, ‘the butterfly or soul of the baby follows that of the mother, and that if it is not recovered the child must die. So a wise woman is called to get back the baby soul.’ This she does by placing a mirror by the corpse, and on it a piece of tawny cotton-wool and performing certain rites.

²⁹ *Hepialus hirsuta*, Linnæus.

³⁰ Schliemann, *Afroside*, p. 176, Figs. 259, 260 and note.

³¹ In Tomb 318 of the Kalkani Cemetery (see A. J. Wace, *Times Lit. Supplement*, Oct. 26, 1922, p. 694). A preliminary publication of this find was made in the *Illustrated London News*, Feb. 24, 1923, p. 300. A full account of the Chamber-Tombs excavated by the British School at Mycenae in 1923 will shortly appear in *Archæologia*. Mr. Wace kindly informs me that the pottery in this grave was mostly of L.M. II. date.

well as by parallel finds from Crete. These vary somewhat in the details, which are brought out by a repoussé process on their wings. The eight pendants of the type shown in Fig. 48 *a* present only two wings with five cusped



a.—GOLD BUTTERFLY FROM THIRD SHAFT GRAVE, MYCENAE.



b.—GOLD DISK WITH EMBOSSED BUTTERFLY. THIRD SHAFT GRAVE, MYCENAE.



c, d.—SEAL IMPRESSIONS, ZAIDO. (I)



e.—SEAL IMPRESSION FROM KNOSSES. (I)



f.—BRONZE DOUBLE AXE FROM PHAEOS, ENGRAVED WITH SYMBOLIC BUTTERFLY.

FIG. 48.

projections and a large central eye. It has the appearance of a butterfly rather than a moth, and its wings combine the characteristics of the Comma³² and Peacock,³³ both of them abundant in Greece (see Fig. 46, *b, c*). It must

³² *Pieris c. allium*.

³³ *Pieris io*.

indeed be observed that the Minoan and Mycenaean artists in no case produced such naturalistic copies of various species of lepidoptera as did their Egyptian contemporaries.³⁴ The figures on other gold plates (Fig. 52, 3) the outline of which is cut out, present indeed the same cusped or indented wings, but divided into numerous segments and dotted along their outer margin with a succession of smaller disk ornaments. In these cases the disproportionately large body rather points to a hawk moth and in the coiled antennae we may possibly trace a confusion with the long proboscis, of which it seems to be a reduplicated version. In any case any attempt to obtain a precise identification from these decorative reminiscences would be doomed to failure.

The decorative types of lepidoptera from the Mycenae grave, with their cusps and indentations and eyed wings, in some cases abnormally multiplied, are themselves an inheritance from Minoan Crete, where they begin to appear by the close of M.M. III. Among the seal-types of Zakro the eyed butterflies' wings are seen attached to the body of Sphinx—a very graceful creation, which can hardly be without a symbolic meaning (Fig. 48 c).³⁵ On another fantastic seal impression cusped butterflies' wings appear with stellate centres (Fig. 48 d). A parallel type with eyed and cusped wings is thrice repeated on a sealing from the Little Palace of Knossos (Fig. 48 e),³⁶ and eyed butterflies also occur on lentoid beads of the 'amuletic' class.³⁷ The two-winged butterfly imaged by the gold pendants from the Third Shaft Grave is practically identical with that engraved on what seems to have been a votive bronze axe, found at Phaistos (Fig. 48 f),³⁸ where its religious import can hardly be doubted. In a chamber tomb of the Cemetery of Phaistos were also discovered five thin gold plates, perforated for attachment, with butterflies conventionally outlined,³⁹ and supplying a later parallel to those from the Mycenae grave. Their derivative style corresponds with their comparative late date—probably L.M. III. a (Fig. 49). A four-winged variety appears on clay seal impressions from the same site,⁴⁰ but, from its association, the most interesting specimen of that class is seen on the painted relief from Knossos of the Priest King wearing the plumed lily crown.⁴¹ The triple horn-like prominences give it the appearance of having three pairs of wings, on the lowest of which, as in the preceding case,



FIG. 49.—GOLD PLATE FROM L.M. III. a. GRAVE, PHAISTOS.

³⁴ E. g., Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. (1878), p. 108, Fig. 2; in B.M.

³⁵ See *Palace of Minos*, i, pp. 305, 306.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 305, Fig. 329 d.

³⁷ A black steatite lentoid of this class from near Knossos with a rudely executed design of an eyed butterfly is in my Collection.

³⁸ Minot, *Le origini della Civiltà Mediterranea*, p. 245, Fig. 161.

³⁹ L. Savignoni, *Mon. Ant.*, xiv. (1904), p. 601, Fig. 66.

⁴⁰ In the Candia Museum.

⁴¹ The correct restoration of this will appear in *P. of M.*, II.

are large disks. It flutters beside this semi-divine personage above the decorative iris blooms of the Elysian fields.

In this connexion may be mentioned a gold object that seems to be a direct offshoot of the Mycenaean decorative type of butterfly as seen on



FIG. 50.—(a) GOLD ORNAMENT WITH BUTTERFLY, TURN SEVERIN; (b) UNDERSIDE.

jewellery, obtained by me from Turn Severin in Roumania in 1883, and said to have been found near that place ⁴² (Fig. 50, a, b). It is a heart-shaped plaque of solid construction with three short tags for attachment behind. The relatively large abdomen with dotted bands like those on Fig. 48b above, and the general resemblance of the head and wings with the Minoan



FIG. 51.—ECSTATIC DANCE BEFORE GUIDING WITH SACRED TREE IN BACKGROUND, ISOPATAN, NEAR KNOSSOS.

and Mycenaean class, make it difficult not to conclude that some relationship exists. But the object itself is at present an isolated phenomenon and future discoveries alone can enable us to define its archaeological place.

On the disk or eye as giving an additional consecrating touch to these symbolical winged forms this is not the occasion to enlarge. On a seal

⁴² I actually acquired the object at Widin, in Bulgaria, from a man who had brought it across the Danube from Turn

Severin (Turnu Severinului), near which place, according to his statement, it was found.

impression from Knossos it actually suggests the Eye of Horus, so frequent among Egyptian amulets,⁴³ and leads us to the design on a remarkable gold signet from the built tomb of Isopata,⁴⁴ where the Sacred Eye appears in the background of a scene of ecstatic dance as the visible impersonation of the divinity (Fig. 51).



FIG. 52.—GOLD SCALES, BUTTERFLIES AND CHRYSALISES FROM THIRD SHAFT GRAVE, MYCENAE.

Very suggestive evidence as to the connexion of the eyed butterfly type with the human soul is supplied by two objects discovered in the Third Shaft Grave at Mycenae, in which so many gold plates with this representation came to light. These are gold disks intended for scales, forming part of a balance, and presenting on each embossed images of such butterflies (Fig. 52, 2, and p. 42 Fig. 40). They are of the thin fabric characteristic of objects

⁴³ Cf. *P. of M.*, i, p. 704.

logia, lxx., 1914), p. 10, Fig. 16.

⁴⁴ *Tomb of the Double Axes, etc.* (*Archæo-*

designed solely for funereal use, and were accompanied with remains of the beam, consisting of tubes of the same thin gold plate 'through which was undoubtedly stuck a wooden stick.'⁴³

Schliemann, though, curiously enough, he failed to recognise the relationship between the butterflies shown and the human soul, rightly regarded the scales themselves as symbolic of the same idea as that illustrated in the painted designs of Egyptian tombs,⁴⁴ where scales appear 'in which are weighed the good and bad deeds of the deceased.' In that case Thoth and Anubis weigh the heart of the dead man against the feather of Truth. Schliemann also recalled the passage in the *Iliad* where Zeus weighs the two 'fates' (*Kṛpe*) of Achilles and Hektor against one another in a golden balance⁴⁵—a practice of which we have repeated illustrations in vase paintings. In these cases the 'fates' appear as diminutive human beings, generally depicted with their arms and armour, though they are not unfrequently winged. But this form of weighing, though also known as *ψυχοστασία*,⁴⁶ refers to the doom of the living, not to the judgment of departed spirits, and is without the ethical element that characterises the Egyptian rite. This moral side, however, appears already in Old Testament allusions, as when Job exclaims, 'Let me be weighed in an even balance, that God may know mine integrity,'⁴⁷ and in the writing on the wall, 'Tebel; thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting.'⁴⁸

The exact channels through which the same idea passed into Christian iconography are not recorded, but we must certainly look on the Oriental side. As 'Commander-in-chief'—*Ἀρχιστράτηγος*—of the hosts of Heaven, the Archangel Michael has much in common with the Babylonian Light-God, and the Celestial Scales were in fact regarded as the 'House of Shamash'⁴⁹ who was also considered the giver of all law and the supreme judge. Direct evidence of the belief in the weighing the souls of the dead is wanting,⁵⁰

⁴³ Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 127, Fig. 303; restored by G. Karo in *Finnson, Kretschschmar, mykenische Kultur* (1921) p. 124, Fig. 116 (see Fig. 40). Another beam and pair of scales with embossed rosettes was also found (Fig. 302).

⁴⁴ Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 128. Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations*, p. 260, would simply see in the scales 'a gift to the worthy housewife in her grave, just as necessary as sword and drinking cup to the man in his.' But the household objects, such as the bronze knife, alabaster 'spoon' and gold box and cup placed in the grave, were articles really used, not flimsy funereal fabrics. Balances for real use are, indeed, a known feature of sepulchral inventories. Bronze beams of balances were found in two Early Sikel graves (P. Orsi, *Boll. di Paleontologia Italiana*, S. II, viii (1892), p. 31 and Pl. V, 7). They are also a feature of Anglo-Saxon graves.

⁴⁵ *Il.*, xiii, 209-213. *ῥῆς*, the heart (the epic form of *ῥίς*), in its primitive conceptions (cf. Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, II, p. 431, etc.) no found still among savage races,

means the 'soul' or 'life.' Can this be distinguished from the Homeric *ῥῆς*, which we find equated with *ψυχή*? But, if they are practically the same, the parallel with the Egyptian heart-weighing is too close not to indicate a suggestion from that side.

⁴⁶ A lost play of Aeschylus was so called (*Fr.* 263; *Pha. de ind. poet.*, p. 17 A). In this Phetis and Eos weigh the lives of Achilles and Memnon. The actual *ψυχοστασία* is usually Hermes.

⁴⁷ Job, xxxi, 6.

⁴⁸ Daniel, v, 27. This, of course, is a free translation, but the reference of *Mens* and *Tebel* to mind and *stebel* implies weighing.

⁴⁹ Sidney Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, Jan. 1925, 49.

⁵⁰ Meunier, indeed (*Babylonien und Assyrien*, II, 416) says 'die babylonische Waage galt jedenfalls als Totenwaage.' Jeremias argues that since the Balance in the signs of Zodiac represents the idea of justice, it must be identified with the balance for weighing the souls of the dead. Mr. Sidney Smith, of the Oriental Department of the British Museum, to whose kindness I owe this information, takes a cautious view.

though its existence seems very probable. On the other hand, evidence of the belief in the weighing of souls recurs among Zoroastrians, Brahmans and Buddhists, and St. Gabriel takes St. Michael's place throughout the Mahometan world. The Archangel weighing the souls of the departed is a familiar subject in the wall-paintings and stained glass windows of mediæval churches.⁵¹

The equation in Minoan eyes of butterflies with human souls, of which we have now such full evidence, gives great significance to their appearance in the funeral scales found in the Mycenæ tomb. It looks indeed as if, according to the Minoan and Mycenaean belief, the soul had been weighed in butterfly form previous to re-incarnation through the divine power. It is possible even that the thin plate cut out in butterfly form, and with no perforations for attachment to the dress or other materials, which was found by Schliemann in the grave containing the scales may have been intended to have been placed in the balance as a representation of the soul itself. The embossed figure of butterflies on the plates of the scales are themselves sufficiently expressive of the funeral function that they were supposed to serve.

In the case of the 'Ring of Nestor' the fact that the two butterflies that flutter above the head of the seated figure stand in immediate relation to the pair of chrysalises is in each case a very manifest allusion to the emergence of a soul to new life. It has thus a special significance in view of other evidences illustrating the functions of the Minoan Goddess as Lady of the Under-world. It is not only that her chthonic aspect is constantly illustrated by her snake attributes, but there is actual evidence of her guardianship of the abode of the dead. The Tomb of the Double-Axes at Knossos—the most interesting of all Minoan sepulchres—was, in fact, at the same time a Shrine of the Goddess.⁵² The rock-hewn cell, in which enough remains were found to mark the last resting-place of a departed warrior, was itself carefully cut in the outline of a double-axe, and there were also sufficient indications that the ledged recess at the head of the grave had been fitted with the usual

⁵¹ Mr. T. G. Walker, who has discussed this subject in connexion with the wall-paintings of St. Mary, Guildford, in *Archæologia* (xlix., 1835, p. 298 *seqq.*), quotes (p. 210) a passage in the *Dialogues* of St. Gregory the Great (c. 604 a.d.) in which he says, 'the good and the bad angels come and the merits and demerits of the man are weighed.' He cites the weighing of the actions of men by Mithra and Rashnashat on the narrow bridge that separates earth and heaven as described in the *Zendavesta*, and Brahmā and Buddhist parallels. The subject of one of the finest mediæval wall-paintings in England in South Leigh Church, Oxon, is St. Michael weighing a soul, while a devil tries to pull down the opposite balance. It is also the central theme of the fine west window of Fairford Church. The idea

lives on in folklore and custom. At an Athens Carnival I actually witnessed a popular play called the 'Miser's Doom' (described and illustrated by Prof. Myers, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, 1898, p. 102 *seqq.*), where the guilty soul in the shape of a china doll was weighed down by a devil in the opposite scale. The idea also survives in English folklore. At Long Compton in Wiltshire a man, in describing to me the black arts of a deceased fellow-villager, added, 'I should like to have had a good weigh of him agin the church Bible.' In the balance of good and evil the 'church Bible' thus takes the place of the Egyptian 'feather of Truth.'

⁵² See A. P., *Tomb of the Double-Axes*, etc. (Quaritch, 1914, and *Archæologia*, lrv.), p. 33 *seqq.*

furniture of a Minoan shrine, including bronze double-axes of the ritual type, the special symbols of the divinity, set between the 'sacral horns,' a steatite rhyton for libations as well as an incense-burner, and doubtless, originally, a small image of the Goddess. Thus 'the tomb was at the same time a funeral chapel, and it may well be that the benches round the sides of the chamber were made use of for some memorial function in which the whole family partook. On such an occasion, in accordance with the central idea of the Minoan cult, the essence of the divinity might by due ritual acts be infused into its visible symbols, and, even in the shades, the direct guardianship of the Great Mother be thus assured to the warrior resting in his emblematic bed.'³³



FIG. 33.—SOUL AS BUTTERFLY
RETURNING TO RESURGENT
SKELETON ON GRECO-ROMAN
GEM.

The Minoans seem to have consistently figured the divine spirit itself in bird form, and it is birds, generally doves,³⁴ that we see perched on the head of the Goddess herself or brought down by ritual acts upon her hecatyfic shapes such as pillars or double-axes, upon her shrines and altars, and, as a sign of possession, upon the heads and shoulders of her votaries. The human soul itself is also regarded as a bird in the folk-lore of many countries, and there are indications that this idea was also known in Classical Greece,³⁵ though there anthropomorphisation early set in and the soul has generally a human head. In later Greece, however, perhaps because it was so deeply-rooted in an older stratum of the population, the idea of the human soul as a butterfly

came to overshadow the other. But this too took generally an anthropomorphic form, and its vogue was no doubt favoured by the popularity of the tale of Eros and Psyché.

Ψυχή, like 'anima,' in its simple application may best be translated as the 'life' of man. Thus Life and Death are symbolically depicted on Greco-Roman gems as a skull with a butterfly above.³⁶ In one case this emblem is coupled with a resurgent skeleton of a man whom a little winged Genius, with

³³ *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

³⁴ Cf. *P. of M.*, I, pp. 222, 223, where descent of the Holy Spirit as a dove in the baptism in Jordan is compared. The doves on the gold chalices from Mycenae (Schliemann, p. 237, Fig. 246) and those on Nestor's Cup (*Il.*, xi. 632-635) must be regarded as signs of consecration. The birds brought down by the sound of the lyre and ritual incantation on the double-axes of the Hagia Triada sarcophagus appear to be ravens. See *P. of M.*, I, pp. 440, 441, and Fig. 317.

³⁵ In Homer, where the dead are also likened to bats (*Od.*, xxiv. 5); their clamour is also said to resemble that of birds—*ἀνθρώπων ὡς καὶ πτεροῦν* (*Od.*, xi. 105, 633). The soul of Aristeus is said when he died to have flown out of his mouth in the shape of a raven (Plin., *H.N.*, vii. 174). See S. Wide, *Ark. Mith.*, xxvi., 1901, pp. 153-155.

³⁶ E.g. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, Pl. XXIX. 48, Pl. XXII. 12; and cf. Otto Wasser, art. 'Psyche' in Roscher's *Lexikon*, p. 2235.

uplifted torch, helps to raise the lid of the funeral urn.⁵² The skeleton, evidently that of a warrior, who is here seen emerging, reaches out his bony arm for his spear and armour placed beside the jar, while, above, a butterfly flutters towards his head. It is the soul returning to its earthly tenement (Fig. 53). But the nearest parallel to the scene on the 'Ring of Nestor,' in which a Goddess appears as an intermediary, is curiously enough presented by a quite late monument of Classical antiquity. On a Greco-Roman sarcophagus in the Capitoline Museum, the central subject of which is Prometheus moulding a human figure in clay, Athena, who stands in front



FIG. 54.—ATHENA INFUSING LIFE IN SHAPE OF BUTTERFLY INTO HUMAN FORMS Moulded BY PROMETHEUS (ON GRECO-ROMAN SARCOPHAGUS, CAPITOLINE MUSEUM).

of him, infuses life into the inert block by placing a butterfly, which she holds by the tips of the wings, upon the top of its head (Fig. 54).⁵³

The Goddess, for such we must regard her, on the ring, so clearly marked by the emblems of resurgence after death with which she is associated, was evidently credited with some similar power in regard to departed human beings. It is indeed impossible not to recognise the direct connexion of the twin chrysalises and butterflies seen above her head with the male and female figure that appear immediately behind her in what is, dramatically

⁵² On a faience agate intaglio of Roman workmanship in my own Collection; beneath the design is the inscription PVBLI. This scene of 'resurrection' is much more intelligible than the somewhat analogous design on an onyx of good Roman work figured by King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, 4th edn. p. 361, No. 23, and p. 364, where the skeleton is incomprehensibly

described as 'terrified by the hateful glare' of the torch of life. The butterfly is wanting in the latter design as well as the arms.

⁵³ Reproduced from Righetti, *Descrizione del Campidoglio*, I. 73. Cf. too Raumerstor, *Denkmäler des klass. Alterthums*, iii. p. 1412, Fig. 1288 (art. 'Prometheus'), etc.

speaking, the second scene of this composition. The whole subject is well shown in Monsieur Gilliéron's copy of the seal impression enlarged to four diameters, Fig. 55.

The Youthful Couple restored to Life.

Here we see, in profile, a youth, whose long locks fall behind his shoulders and over his breast, girt with the usual Minoan loin-clothing and with traces of footgear, but otherwise naked, standing in front of a woman with his visible arm half lifted, as in the act of greeting her. The lady herself raises both hands in a much more accentuated attitude of surprise and delight, as of one who had seen her spouse unexpectedly restored to her. As in the case of the Goddess and her companion, the somewhat square rendering of the outline of the shoulders suggests a sleeved jacket such as the elegant dames wear in the *Miniature Fresco of Knossos*, and is so depicted in the restored coloured drawing (Pl. V). The bosom, as in the other case, was open or only covered by a diaphanous chemise, and the flounced skirts are decidedly short, reaching only a little below the knee, a fashion that prevailed in the earliest Late Minoan phase.⁵⁰

The attitudes and gestures are so natural and speaking as only to admit of one obvious interpretation. We see here, reunited by the life-giving power of the Goddess, symbolised by the chrysalises and butterflies, a young couple whom death had parted, and of whom the female personage was clearly the earlier to reach the Under-world. That to the artist who composed the whole design the episode formed part of a definite story, whether traditional or taken from contemporary life, can hardly be doubted. What we see here indeed, taken in connexion with the scene of initiation below, must rather be interpreted as the permanent reunion in the Land of the Blest of a wedded pair by the divine grace, than as an attempt, like that of Orpheus, to rescue his Eurydice from the shades or the all too brief respite gained by Protesilaos to visit Laodamia.

But in each case the dramatic moment where one of a loving pair rejoins the other in another world itself largely corresponds, and the spouse on the ring might well exclaim with Wordsworth's Laodamia:

'No spectre greets me, no vain Shadow this;
Come, blooming hero, place thee by my side,
Give, on this well-known couch, one nuptial kiss
To me this day a second time thy bride!'

It is worth observing that both these representative Classical examples of at least a temporary triumph over Hades—Protesilaos as well as Orpheus—were themselves connected with the Thracian race. Through its Phrygian branch, this was largely affected by old religious conceptions which extended in the other direction from Anatolia to Minoan Crete—ideas of a Mother Goddess with corybantic worshippers and ecstatic votaries and of a favourite

⁵⁰ Inherited from the last Middle Minoan fashion. See *P. of M.*, i. p. 580.

youth or son, mortal but continually resurgent. We feel ourselves in face of much more human conceptions of the world beyond than the early Greek view of gibbering shades and fluttering *eidōla*, where a king was of less count than was a ploughman upon earth. The only anxiety of Protesilaos, it will be remembered, was that his wife should join him speedily in the world beyond.

The Lion Guardian and *Δίος Κούρα*.

On the other side of the upper part of the trunk of the 'Tree of the World' from that by which the young couple stand is a further scene, the



FIG. 53.—COPY OF IMPRESSION OF 'NESTOR'S RING' ENLARGED FOUR DIAMETERS.

lower boundary of which is supplied by the projecting bough. The central feature here is a great lion, couchant on a kind of bench with three supports visible, while below this, in kneeling posture and reaching upwards towards the sacred animal, are two little girlish figures. The lion, with his head raised and turned back as if in the act of listening, may be described as in the attitude of vigilant repose. It closely corresponds with the attitude of a couchant lion on a stepped base with the same pose of the head and the tail drawn up between the haunches in a similar manner seen on what must be a contemporary intaglio from the Vapheio tholos tomb.⁶⁰

The couch on which the lion rests in the present case resembles the

⁶⁰ *Tamniae*, 74 *Ap.*, 1889, Pl. X. Pl. III. 53. The stone is a sardonxy 27, p. 167; Furtwängler, *Ant. German.* of the amygdaloid type.
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three-footed bench seen on an agate lentoid from a chamber tomb at Mycenae,⁶¹ and which there serves as a kind of 'operating table,' a fat boar being laid upon it belly upwards for the dissection of its entrails by a priestly 'haruspex.' Some mystic association may therefore have attached itself to what in the present case seems to have simply served as a kind of couch for the great beast. The special association of the Minoan Goddess, anticipating Rhea, with the lion, is so fully established that it needs no detailed illustration here. Lions were her special companions and guardians, and repeatedly appear in pairs placed as supporters in heraldic schemes, where she is often replaced



FIG. 56.—SILVER RING FROM AMARI.

by her pillar form. On a recently discovered signet-ring from Amari,⁶² west of Ida (Fig. 56), the Goddess is seen seated on a broad base—which, however, is of solid construction—and upon the outer edge of this on either side a lion rests his fore-legs. At times she is accompanied by only a single animal, either walking beside her, as on a seal-impression from the Temple Repositories⁶³ at Knossos, or

up-reared in front of her, as on another from the Domestic Quarter.⁶⁴

The frequent appearance of lions on the Early Minoan ivory seals⁶⁵ which have early Nilotic and Egyptian associations, tends to show that it was from that side that the knowledge of these animals made its way into Crete. The peculiar place which lions held in the ancient Egyptian mythology also seems to have affected Cretan religion. The dark tunnel of the Under-world through which the Sun passed between nightfall and dawn was watched at either gate by a lion guardian,⁶⁶ and it is thus that in a well-known Egyptian symbol the two lions—'Yesterday' and 'To-day'—appear seated back to back on either side of the Sun's disk, which rests in the bosom of the hills. An interesting indication that the lion in Minoan Crete was also regarded as a guardian of the dead is afforded by one of the early seals in question, from a tholos tomb on the borders of Mesara, the upper part of which is carved in the form of a couchant lion seated above a figure of a man in a crouched position corresponding with the contracted attitude of the dead in this class of primitive

⁶¹ Tsountas, *Ep. 'Apx.*, 1888, Pl. X, 36 (upside down), and p. 179. Furtwängler, *Ant. German.*, Pl. II, 18. Furtwängler describes the subject as a sacrifice ('Opfer'). Tsountas speaks of the personage with the knife as 'a woman.' There can be no reasonable doubt, however, in view of later discoveries, that the 'operator' is a long-robed Minoan (or Mycenaean) priest who here acts as 'haruspex'—an interesting anticipation of the Etruscan ritual. A bull is seen the right way up on a stand of a somewhat similar kind on a gem in the Berlin Museum with a sacrificial sword

stuck into its shoulder (Furtwängler, *Ant. Germ.*, Pl. II, 22). It looks as if we had here the preparation for the hierospatial ceremony.

⁶² The ring is of bronze, plated, and is in the Bethyrmio Museum.

⁶³ *P. of M.*, i. p. 505, Fig. 363 a.

⁶⁴ Unpublished.

⁶⁵ Many examples of such seals are given in Prof. Deceup's recently published translation of Dr. Xanthoudides' work, *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara*.

⁶⁶ See E. A. Wallis-Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, ii. pp. 359-361.

tholos caryatides. The king of beasts is here seen not as a devourer, but as serenely guarding the body of the dead man.⁶⁷

It would seem from the Egyptian analogy that the couchant lion in this section of the ring should be looked on as the divinely appointed warder of the entrance to the Under-world, and in close relation to the Goddess in her chthonic character. This connexion is, in fact, clearly brought out by the two diminutive female figures, who are obviously attending to the lion's wants. In these we must recognise the two small handmaidens—the *Δίαυ Κούραι*,—who, as shown above, are repeatedly seen accompanying the Goddess, attired as if they were little Minoan women.⁶⁸

Care was taken, moreover, to make the lion's sojourn in the Elysian fields agreeable by providing him with a leafy canopy above. The ivy-like sprays issuing from behind the trunk and rising beside the lion's head are not, as already noted, to be regarded as branches of the tree itself. They belong indeed to no terrestrial species. Their origin is to be sought in a decorative combination of double lines of running scrolls with a motive derived from the papyrus symbol of the Delta Goddess, Wazet—an ornamental growth that specially characterises the Third Middle Minoan Period.⁶⁹ The

space between the interconnected scrolls, filled in its broader part by the expanding head of the papyrus tuft, was acuminated above, resembling a pointed leaf, and by the beginning of the First Late Minoan Period the motive thus evolved began to be actually treated as a vegetable. It thus takes its place beside various rock plants on wall-paintings of the transitional M.M. III. b, L.M. I. a phase, as a species of ivy, but with the outline of the original papyrus tuft



FIG. 57.—PART OF WALL-PAINTING (RESTORED) FROM 'HOUSE OF FRESCOES,' KNOSSOS, SHOWING THE 'SACRAL IVY.'

⁶⁷ I may refer to my remarks, *P. of M.*, ii. p. 55, and see Fig. 26. The soul is from the tholos of Kalathianos, and is given in Xanthoudides, *op. cit.*, Pl. VIII, p. 821.

⁶⁸ See above, p. 13, and Figs. 13-15.

⁶⁹ See *P. of M.*, i. p. 509, and compare the pedestal of the lamp, p. 345, Fig. 249. It occurs on a bronze cup of the 'Vaphio' type from a M.M. III. sepulchral deposit at

Mechnos (Singer, *Mechnos*, p. 62, and Fig. xii. f.) and on the upper part of the body of an unpublished stonite rhyton with reliefs (Candia Museum). The 'sacral' motive, as seen on XIIIth Dynasty scarabs, affected a series of Minoan spiragastic types well illustrated by the Zakro sealings (see *P. of M.*, i. pp. 705, 706, and Figs. 528, 529).

still clearly marked on the lower part of the leaves.⁷⁰ A specimen from the remains of a painted stucco panel found in the House of the Frescoes at Knossos is given in Fig. 57,⁷¹ where the artist has added ivy flowers. From wall-paintings this 'sacral ivy' motive was taken over on to the decoration of vases and was specially in vogue in the First Late Minoan style, so splendidly illustrated by the remains found in the beehive tomb that contains the signet-ring with which we are concerned.⁷² An early example is supplied by the upper zone of the L.M. I.a amphora given in Fig. 41. Already by this stage some of the leaves have lost the original papyrus element, and in the succeeding Late Minoan and Mycenaean Age they are indistinguishable from those of ivy, though the double stalk with which they are generally coupled, even in the latest stage,⁷³ remains an abiding record of the double scroll that formed part of the original composition of this motive.

If, as is highly probable, we may identify the plant that shoots out from the trunk of the 'Tree of the World' to give shade to the couchant lion as this 'sacral ivy,' the appropriateness of this conclusion will at once be manifest. For the plant itself, as we have seen, contained within it an element of sanctity distantly derived from the papyrus emblem of Wazet and Buto in the Delta thickets, and some part of whose spiritual being seems to have been early infused into the Minoan Goddess—especially as regards her chthonic aspect.⁷⁴

One inference we may be allowed to draw from the leafy spray placed here apparently on purpose to give shade to the great lion in his watchful repose. It must surely connote the idea of light and warmth.

The Griffin's Court.

The lower section of the ring, contained beneath the spreading branches of the tree on either side of its trunk and the mound from which it rises, clearly forms one continuous scene. This may perhaps be described as the Griffin's Court. On a high stand or throne to the right of the group, and in apposition as it were to the lion on the couch, is seated a winged griffin of the Minoan type, while behind it stands a female figure in whom we must in all probability again recognise the Goddess herself. The griffin seems to be of the gentler peacock-plumed variety such as we see it on a fragment of Miniature Fresco from the Palace at Knossos⁷⁵ and in the frieze of the Room of the Throne. It has little of the savage aspect of the eagle-beaked type such as is seen hunting

⁷⁰ I hope to illustrate the successive stages of this evolution by a Table in Vol. II. of *P. of M.*

⁷¹ From Monsieur E. Gilliéron's drawing of the fresco. In Fig. 57 the design is partially restored. The Hagia Triada fresco presents the same 'sacral ivy' motive, but the colouring has greatly suffered (see E. Halbherr, *Mon. Ant.*, xiii., 1903, Pl. IX.).

⁷² See especially *Ath. Mitt.*, xxxiv. (1909), Pls. XXI., XXIII., XXIV. (Kurt Müller, *Die Funde aus den Kuppelgräbern von Kokontas*, p. 302 *seq.*). The vases and fragments shown belong to Graves B and C as well as A, but all reflect a contemporary style.

⁷³ See, for instance, Furtw. u. Loeschke, *Myk. Vasen*, Pl. XVIII. 121.

⁷⁴ See *P. of M.*, i. p. 500.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 549, Fig. 400.

its quarry at a flying gallop on the Mycenaean dagger-blade,⁷⁶ or stalking them amidst the thicket on the wooden lid from Egypt in the Berlin Museum.⁷⁷

Of the special relation of the griffin to the Minoan Goddess there are ample indications. On a gold signet-ring from Mycenae⁷⁸ an enthroned female figure, in whom we may, in view of other analogies, recognise the divinity, holds a seated she-griffin by a leash. On a lentoid intaglio from the Vapheio tomb⁷⁹ a long-robed priest is seen walking beside a griffin, again held by a leash. Elsewhere I make the suggestion that the 'Priest King' with the plumed lily crown, seen on the painted stucco relief from the Palace at Knossos amidst Elysian flowers and butterflies, was leading a sacred griffin.⁸⁰ On another stucco relief, belonging to a frieze of what seems to have been the great hall of the east wing of the Palace, a griffin is tethered to a column, no doubt to be regarded as the baetyllic form of the divinity. Guardianship, swiftness and piercing powers of sight, typified by the lion's body and hawk's or eagle's head, are innate qualities in the griffin breed of monsters.

Immediately in front of the seated griffin, with two others in the background, are seen fantastic creations of a new class. These may be described as 'griffin ladies.' Except for the griffin's head and crest they are, in fact, represented as women dressed in the usual short-skirted fashion of the early part of L.M. I., and even show long tresses falling down their backs. Female figures of the kind with eagles' heads are frequent on the Zakro sealings,⁸¹ and, unlike many other of the fantastic types there seen, the 'eagle ladies' had a general vogue among Cretan seal-types.⁸² A steatite head-seal has now come to light in Central Crete, showing the parallel type seen on the Ring of Nestor, a flounced female figure, namely, with a griffin's head.⁸³

⁷⁶ *Athenaeum*, 9, 10, 2.

⁷⁷ First published by Furtwängler, art. 'Gryps' in Roscher's *Lexikon* (1890), and there described as Egyptian under Syrian influence. Its Minoan (or Mycenaean) character has, however, been since generally recognised. (See Puchasteln, *Arch. Anz.*, 1891, p. 41.) The circumstances of the find—already referred to by Lepsius, *Denkschrift*, Text, p. 167 *supp.*—are by no means satisfactorily ascertained. Dr. Hall, *Ancient Archaeology*, p. 263 (quoting Spiegelberg, *Blätter des Phänomenologischen*, see Fig. 60), speaks of the tomb at Saqqarah, where it was found, as of the 'XIXth Dynasty.' *Extr. Kuhn*, p. 31 *supp.*, and Pl. X. 77-81, *relates* scarabs found with the lid to the early XVIIIth Dynasty, while admitting that one is of Akhenaten's age. F. von Bissing, *Arch. Mitth.*, xxiii, 1898, p. 259 n. 2; xxiv., 1899, p. 486, remarks that the tomb was reoccupied. A three-handled alabastron (F. v. L., *Myk. Vasen*, Pl. XXII. 169) found in the tomb belongs to the upper borders of L.M. III.

⁷⁸ Furtwängler, *A.G.*, Pl. VI. 12, and Vol. II. Fig. on p. 27. The figure is there described as "eine, wie es scheint, männliche doch lang behäufelte Gestalt," but the development of the thighs and signs of the upper line of the skirt (not shown in the figure in *A.G.*) make it clear that we have to deal with a woman. The clothing does not answer to that of the long-robed Minoan priestess. The object held by the seated figure does not seem to be a 'sceptre.'

⁷⁹ Tsountas, *Ep. Arch.*, 1889, Pl. X. 32; Furtwängler, *A.G.*, Pl. II. 39; Picot et Chipiez, vi. Pl. XVI. 16. The stone is a deep-red jasper.

⁸⁰ In *P. of M.*, vol. II.

⁸¹ Hogarth, *Zakro Sealings* (*J.H.S.*, p. 79, Fig. 8, and Nos. 20-23 (see Pl. VI).

⁸² E.g. Xanthoudides, *Ep. Arch.*, 1907, Pl. VIII. 150 (dark-green steatite, Asen, Crete, Camille Museum). I have come across more than one specimen of the type.

⁸³ In Mr. R. B. Seager's possession.

It is in connexion with these 'griffin ladies' that the young couple whose reunion in the Land of the Blessed is depicted in the upper field of the ring make their reappearance. It is impossible indeed not to recognise the same youthful pair, male and female, occupying the same position in the section immediately below. The female personage, who here takes the second place, lays her hand on the waist of one of the griffin ladies, who with her upraised hands unmistakably warns off a youth beyond as unworthy to partake in this Elysian mystery of initiation. The more fortunate youth in front looks back on his spouse and lays one hand on her wrist, while he seems to beckon her forward with the other. Both figures trip gaily in unison as if to the measure of a dance, advancing to where the trunk divides them from the group of griffin ladies in front. There is, however, no real break in the continuity of the scene. On the other side of the tree a griffin lady evidently awaits them, with one hand raised in their direction, and seems to be about to conduct them to the presence of the enthroned griffin and the Goddess behind him. The two griffin ladies nearest to the throne raise their hands in the act of adoration, and we are left to infer that a similar function should take place in the case of the young couple. We feel ourselves in highly aristocratic company, indeed the whole ceremonial is rather suggestive of a presentation at Court. We may conclude that, when the obeisance of those thus presented by the griffin's own kin is once accepted the *débutantes* have the *entrée* to the Court of the divinity who reigns in the halls of the blessed.

The whole of this lower zone presents, as has been already observed, a continuous composition, including eight figures besides the seated griffin, all displaying vivacious action and painted, in the Minoan manner, with expressive gestures. The dramatic warning off of the profane intruder is an incident of particular value, since it brings into relief the position of the young couple as privileged candidates for what has been above interpreted as a ceremony of initiation. The manner in which the scene in the lower zone is held together in a consecutive whole, in spite of the interposition of the tree-trunk, shows real skill in its composer. The groups right and left are brought into connexion by the she-griffin beckoning to the others behind and beyond the tree, and the intruder on the extreme left is himself included by the repellent gesture of the figure in front of him. Below we see the slope of the mound on which the 'Tree of the World' is rooted, with shoots, indicative, it is to be presumed, of herbage, and the watch-dog at the foot of the tree, who in some sort appears to anticipate the functions of Cerberus, and may be equated with the dragon at the foot of Yggdrasil.

The entire composition of the designs on this remarkable signet-ring connects itself in a single story. This, as has been shown, is divided into four successive episodes—the Goddess seated in front of her companion and with the tokens of her life-giving powers—the butterflies and chrysalises above her head, next, the reunited couple, the lion-guardian, tended by the handmaidens of the divinity, and finally 'the Griffin's Court,' representing a ceremony of initiation. It gives us our first real insight into the pre-Hellenic eschatology, and is the first glimpse that we possess into the World Beyond as conceived by the Minoans.

Translation of Design into Miniature Fresco.

There is no gloom about the picture; the human figures are not mere shadows or half-skeletons, but real flesh and blood and moved by very human emotions. Surprise, joy, affection and encouragement are alternately suggested, and we see the advancing pair caught, as it were, with the spirit of the dance, as if unseen music filled the background. The Goddess and her handmaidens and the ministering griffin-ladies show the same vivacity of gesture language, with truly dramatic touches in the action displayed. All alike wear fashionable raiment, reflecting indeed the latest *modes*, and the imagination is left free to fill in the bright colouring. We have here an abode rather of light than of darkness, and, as has already been remarked, the shady canopy above the lion's head presupposes light and warmth.⁸⁴ Virgil's words indeed might also apply to the denizens of this Minoan After-world:

Largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit
Purpureo, solemque suum sua sidera norunt.

The highly picturesque character of the design and its skilful composition leads to the conclusion that in this, as in other cases, the Minoan engraver had taken over his subject—much epitomised, no doubt, even in this elaborate example—from an original of the Greater Art.⁸⁵ We are led back indeed to some masterpiece in fresco painting of the kind that once adorned the Palace at Knossos, giving a still completer view of the abode of the Blessed—itsself perhaps an illustration of a yet earlier poetic version, much as the celebrated painting of Odysseus in Hades by Polygnotos reflects in the main the Homeric *Nekyia*.⁸⁶ Of that painting, indeed, as it existed in the Leschē at Delphi we have the very detailed description by Pausanias;⁸⁷ and separate episodes are preserved in later adaptations,⁸⁸ but the artistic records do not reproduce the subject in any connected shape. In the design on the 'Ring of Nestor,' on the other hand, we obtain at least a partial insight into the actual com-

⁸⁴ *Ann.* vi. 630 *seqq.*

⁸⁵ See *P. of M.*, i. p. 688 *seqq.*

⁸⁶ Though occasionally other epic sources, such as the *Nostos* and *Minyas*, were used. See F. Dümmler, *Die Quellen zu Polygnots Nekyia* (*Rhein. Mus.*, N.F. 45 (1890), pp. 178-202); and C. Robert, *Die Nekyia des Polygnot*, p. 74 *seqq.* (*Sechshundertes Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1892).

⁸⁷ *Lib.* x. 9, 28.

⁸⁸ Cf. Fraser, *Pausanias*, Vol. V., pp. 376, 377; Prof. Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 53, considers that vase painters freely adapted certain groups. The division into three zones was generally adopted by the earlier restorers of Polygnotos' picture from Count Caylus onwards, based on Pausanias' description. It thus appears in Watkins Lloyd's adaptation of the restoration by Riepenhausen, published in the *Ann.* of

Classical Antiquities, Vol. I. (1851), p. 103 *seqq.*, and Plate. The groups there are very spandic. Prof. Robert's better-known arrangement in *Die Nekyia des Polygnot* (1892), where the scene system is given up, still conveys a very disconnected impression. As to the zone hypothesis, it may be observed that there is good evidence of arrangement in at least two horizontal zones in the case of Minoan frescoes. Since there are also indications, as at the North Entrance of the Palace at Knossos, that these almost imperishable painted stucco works were visible on walls at the time of Hellenic occupation, it does not seem safe to reject the possibility of a suggestion from these much more ancient models. The art history of early Renaissance Italy had its parallel in Classical Greece.

position of a Minoan picture of the Under-world executed some eleven centuries earlier, and, from the elements at our disposal, may even form a general idea of the colour scheme.

The evident dependence of the intaglio design on a pictorial model, coupled with the singular correspondence shown in the fashion of the dress as well as the pose and gestures of the figures with those of the contemporary class of 'Miniature Frescoes,' so well illustrated at Knossos, suggested to me the desirability of an attempt to translate back the composition before us into its original form and colouring as a painted panel. Happily in Monsieur E. Gilliéron, *fil.*, I had at hand not only a competent artist, but one whose admirable studies of Minoan Art in all its branches had thoroughly imbued him with its spirit. Monsieur Gilliéron, to whom the enlarged copy of the original subject given in Fig. 55 is also due, executed under my superintendence the coloured drawing reproduced in Plate V., to the scale and quite in the style of the Miniature Fresco of Knossos that shows the assemblage on the Grand Stand by the Pillar Temple of the Goddess and of the fellow-composition depicting the 'Grove and Sacred Dance.'

To those steeped in the knowledge of the frescoes the colours to a great extent impose themselves. The male and female figures are distinguished, according to the unvarying convention, by Venetian red and white, and saffron yellow continually recurs in their dress. For the background the warm terra-cotta and the 'kyanos' blue were both used on occasion for this purpose in the early part of the Late Minoan Age. This blue, as employed in the upper spaces, gives the best suggestion of the luminous ether that surrounds the abode of the Blessed.

Chronological Place of 'Nestor's Ring.'

The princely rank of the original owner of the ring may be inferred from the very character of the design. Its whole spirit is courtly and palatial. At the same time not only the form of the signet, originally designed as a pendant,²² but every detail that it is possible to trace is of its essence purely Minoan. Whether the intaglio was imported from Crete or executed by a Cretan artist working for a princely conqueror at Pylus itself, it must be regarded as of pure Minoan workmanship. It belongs indeed to the same category as the pottery and other relics found in the large tholos tomb itself and in the other two that stood beside it, and must be referred to the same epoch. The approximate place of the ring in the Minoan series is, in fact, indicated by more than one detail as well as by the striking parallelism of the designs with those of the Miniature Frescoes belonging to the earliest Late Minoan phase. The short skirts of most of the female figures have already been noted as a feature of the fashions of that time. The 'sacral ivy' spray, about the identification of which there can be little doubt, is another characteristic of L.M. I. decoration, and the couchant lion finds its nearest comparison on a gem from the Vapheio tomb, the last ceramic element of which must be assigned to the closing phase of that Period.

²² See above, pp. 47, 48.

The evidence afforded by the pottery of the tholos tombs of 'Nestor's Pylos' or Kakovatos described and illustrated by Dr. Kurt Müller²⁰ fully squares with these conclusions. The great bulk of it is of the same date as the Vapheio vases, L.M. I b. Two large amphoras, however, one of which is given above in Fig. 41,²¹ stand apart from most of the other specimens both as more archaic in form and as showing a decorative technique of another class, in which white paint is still applied, and these must be certainly regarded as typical representatives of the earlier L.M. I. style (a). We may infer that these earlier vases indicate the actual date of the construction of the tomb and of the original interment in the grave itself, and this conclusion best agrees with certain details already referred to in the design upon the signet-ring. In this way we reach a date which may be approximately given as the middle of the sixteenth century B.C.

Is it possible that the signet-ring itself had served as a record of some personal bereavement suffered by its owner? The old funeral tradition illustrated by its pendant type has already been pointed out, and the tale that its subject tells of reunion in the after life is in keeping with this sepulchral distinction. But those who ransacked the tomb left no remains, alas! of the illustrious dead that had occupied its sepulchral cell. We cannot tell, therefore, if there were, indeed, two skeletons answering to the youthful couple on the ring. Its suggestion of a pathetic history is in truth all the record that remains to us. It has been found convenient, indeed, to retain for the ring the popular name attaching to the tomb itself, and there is no occasion to deny the probability of Dr. Dörpfeld's identification of the site of Kakovatos, where the remains of these beehive tombs were found, with the Pylos of Nestor. But Nestor, the Methuselah of Greek Epic, can hardly have had to do with such a story as is here set forth.

Nestor himself, though he is credited with having lived three times the ordinary span of human life, could not, even were that possible, have carried his memory back to the days when such an object as the signet-ring before us was executed by a Minoan craftsman. How far, however, he may have been identified with the royal race that went before him it is impossible to say; but, judging by analogy, we may well believe that some attempt of the kind was made.

A hint of such a process indeed is conveyed by the Homeric description of Nestor's Cup²² with the doves about the handles, and the two supports which, except for the number of handles, is so curiously paralleled by the dove chalice from the Fourth Shaft Grave at Mycenae.²³ This, in fact, represents a cup of the Vapheio type with a pedestal and the twin supports for the handles added. We are thus brought within the upper chronological limits of the tholos tombs, and the 'Cup of Nestor' in all probability represents a Minoan work

²⁰ *Alt.-Pylos*, II., 'Die Funde aus den Kuppelgräbern von Kakovatos' (*Alt. Mitt.*), xxxiv., 1900, p. 259 seqq.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 313-317, and Fig. 16.

²² *Iliad*, xi. 632-635.

²³ Schliemann, *Mycenae*, pp. 232-237, and Fig. 246 (unrestored). See too Tsountas and Mannatt, *Mycenaean Age*, p. 100, and Fig. 26.

of art contemporary with the signet-ring. It cannot, with any legitimate regard for archaeological data, be assigned to the Homeric age itself, when iron was already coming into use. On the other hand, it is clear that the poet of the *Iliad* has described with sufficient accuracy some vessel nearly allied to the 'Dove Chalice' from Mycenae. Was this description simply taken over from an earlier account, embalmed in an epic belonging to the older race?

Such an hypothesis is by no means to be lightly set aside when it is borne in mind that in all probability the Peloponnese passed through a long bilingual period,⁹⁴ due to the survival of the earlier ethnic element side by side with the later, in the same way as Crete, where the Eteo-Cretan stock, as we know, retained its language at least to the fourth century before our era. The alternative suggestion that occurs is that the Achaean invaders had ransacked the beehive tombs of 'Nestor's Pylos' as they undoubtedly did those of the Messenian Pylos, where they interred their own dead. The cup, thus discovered, might easily have been attributed to the Achaean hero of the spot, but it must at the same time be observed that the parallel phenomena with which we have to deal cover a much wider field. In any case the tholos tomb now, since Dr. Dörpfeld's identification, and the German excavations, known as the 'Tomb of Nestor,' and the signet-ring that belonged to it, can only be ascribed to the 'German knight' in the sense in which the 'Dove Chalice' described by Homer was attributed to him of old.

ARTHUR EVANS.

Note on the Steatite 'Medallion Pithoi' from the 'Clytemnestra Tomb.'
(See p. 45.)

A fragment of one of these illustrated by Schliemann (*Mycenae*, p. 140, Fig. 215) was described by him as 'part of a frieze.' The restoration of one of the jars, which were of two sizes, is due to Mr. Wace (*B.S.A.*, xxv, p. 367, Fig. 80), who noted the resemblance to the Medallion pithoi of Knossos. It may be added that the plaitwork bands seen on them also represent a M.M. III. b feature which recurs on the fragment of imported stone ewers of that date found with them. It is highly probable, indeed, that the jars were also of Knossian fabric. Mr. Wace, however, regards them as copies, and (setting aside their association with other M.M. III. works in the tomb) argues that

⁹⁴ I may refer to my Address to the Hellenic Society in June, 1912, on *The Minoan and Mycenaean Element in Hellenic Life* (*J.H.S.*, xxxi, (1912), p. 277 seq.). On p. 293 I have observed: 'The detailed nature of the parallels excludes the idea that we have to do with the fortuitous working of poets' imagination. We are continually tempted to ask, Could such descriptive power in poetry go side by side with its antithesis in art?—the degraded conventional art of the period

in which the Homeric epic took its final form. . . . Only in one way could such passages, presenting the incidents and life of the great days of Mycenae, and instinct with the peculiar genius of its art, have been handed down intact. They were handed down intact because they were preserved in the embalming medium of an earlier Epos, the product of that older non-Hellenic race to whom alike belong the glories of Mycenae and of Minoan Crete.'

as such they must be of later date, forgetful of the principle which stands at the root of all sound archaeological deduction—that imitative works reflect current, not past fashions. 'It is a distinct attempt,' he surprisingly adds, 'on the part of the Mycenaeans to outdo their Cretan teachers. We may therefore attribute these vases to the beginning of L.H. III.' In other words, he refers them to the Third Mycenaean stage, at the lowest computation over two hundred years later. It is unfortunate indeed that Mr. Wace should illustrate his 'L.H. III.' by the (certainly intrusive) *aheri* found by him beneath the threshold of the 'Atreus' tomb (*B.S.A.*, xxv. p. 357, Plg. 76 b). This itself belongs to a late and almost 'Sub-Minoan' group, definitely separated, as Professor R. M. Dawkins has shown, by stratigraphic evidence at Phylakopi, from the earlier L.M. III. class (*B.S.A.*, xvii. p. 19, and Pl. XIV. 39-44: compare too, O. Rubensohn, *Ath. Mitt.*, xlii. 1917, p. 71, who found similar types following on to those of the advanced *lalyssa* class at Paros). This style, which may be described as an advanced phase of L.M. III. *b*, can hardly have come into vogue much before 1200 B.C., and, as Dr. Mackenzie points out, heralds the earliest 'Philistine.' In another connexion, indeed, Mr. Wace admits this (*op. cit.*, p. 47, n. 1). I regret to observe, however, that Mr. Blegen (see *Korakou*, pp. 59-62), begins his L.M. III. series ('L.H. III.') with this class.

Mr. Wace endeavours to support his conclusion that the tympanum or relieving triangle above the lintel of these tombs represents a structural advance due to a gradual architectural evolution on the soil of Greece. But the evidence that this type co-existed with the others from the first at Mycenae is overwhelming—indeed, as we have seen, this feature marks what, judging from M.M. III. relics that they contained, may be placed among the earliest examples there of this class of monument, the 'Treasury of Atreus,' namely, and the 'Tomb of Clytemnestra.' It appears that at Mycenae the typologically inferior structure was for various reasons occasionally preferred. But it is dangerous in these cases to draw a chronological conclusion. It is clear that the fully developed type, thoroughly 'Minoized' in all its decorative details, was implanted into Hellas in the earliest days of the Conquest.

SUPPLEMENT TO 'THE INTERPRETATION OF GREEK MUSIC'

(J.H.S., XLII. p. 133)

The diagram now given reproduces in a more logical form the vocal and instrumental schemes; it shows their underlying unity, and points to the use of the vocal scheme as an enharmonic and chromatic exercise for the trained singer. It will be observed that, with two exceptions, the intervals used are the just semitone and simple quartertone.

The instrumental signs which go to the notes of the ditonal Hypolydian scale from c'_2 to e'_2 , to which, as I have pointed out, the kithara must have been tuned, are all in their normal upright left to right position. They are N, \sqsubset (digamma), $<$ (an old Corinthian form of γ), \sqcap , κ , ζ , Φ , ρ . The last may be a mutilated form of Ω . N and \sqcap are extraneous signs. \sqcap is known to be an old form of π , but π was never written \sqcap in writing from left to right. I think it is a reasonable inference that N and \sqcap were used to mark respectively the *nete* and *mese*. One may deduce the theoretical structure of the Hypolydian as two conjunct tetrachords with an additional tone below.

It will not be out of place to observe that the dissection of scales into similar tetrachords has no longer any interest for us. Nothing material hinges upon the wearisome discussion of tetrachords to be found in Greek literature.

The most important factors in the scale of a mode are (1) the order of intervals in the octave, (2) the notes selected as *predominant* and *final* respectively. To detect the predominant note in a melody it is not sufficient to ascertain which note is most frequently sounded. The manner in which a note is approached is a more certain criterion. Emphasis is frequently given to the predominant by passing first to one side of it as though one's attention were concentrated elsewhere, then passing to the other side, as in a pair of *changing notes* or a figure in the Lancers, and finally leaping at it. This is well exemplified in the hymn to Calliope. C is the *mese* and *predominant* of that melody. Had it been in the Mixolydian, G would have been the *mese* and *final*, and D would have been the *predominant*.

R. CLEMENTS.

CLEOSTRATUS (III)

IN the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xli. (1921), pp. 70-83, Mr. Webb has written a merry paper, dealing with a paper on Cleostratus which I contributed to the same *Journal*, xxxix. (1919), pp. 164-184. After reading Mr. Webb's paper, I saw at once that my theory as to the meaning of the word 'prima' in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, ii. 8 (6), 30, and the word *πρῶτα* in the phrase *πρῶτα σημεῖα* in Cleostratus was no longer tenable. But, while withdrawing my own views on the subject, I am unfortunately unable to adopt Mr. Webb's. On all other points of importance I adhere to the opinions expressed in my paper.

The question of widest interest on which we differ is that of the source from which Cleostratus derived the zodiacal signs and the octaeteris. In my opinion Babylon was the source in both cases. Mr. Webb differs from me on both points.

That our signs of the zodiac were in common use in Babylon long before the time of Cleostratus is beyond question. Dr. Langdon has drawn my attention to several Babylonian and Assyrian lists of these signs. Of these, the one that corresponds most closely with our list is certainly not later than the eighth century before Christ. It is found on an Ashur text, and, although the extant copy belongs to the Persian period, an imperfect duplicate which belonged to the library of Ashur-bani-pal proves its antiquity.¹ The list runs as follows:—Bull of heaven, Twins, Crab, Lion, Ear of Corn, Scales, Scorpion, Archer, Goat-fish, Waterman, Canal, Hireling. Pisces, here represented as a Canal, is in many other texts the Fish constellation. In our zodiac the place of the Ear of Corn is taken by the Virgin holding the ear of corn. As the Babylonians connected this ear of corn with the goddess Ishtar, the process from the ear to the virgin holding the ear is not very great. The identification of our Aries with a hireling or farm-labourer, representing Tammuz, is most common. For Virgo represented as a maiden and for the Ram as a symbol of Tammuz see Dr. Langdon's *Tammuz and Ishtar* (1914), pp. 161-163. Now of all the zodiacal constellations the Twins and the Scorpion alone suggest by their appearance the figures which have been found in them. In the other cases a figure, generally a divine symbol, has been artificially traced in the heavens. The same figure in these cases could not have been independently discovered by two peoples, and we have no alternative to the belief that the Greek zodiac was imported from Babylon. If Pliny is correct, so far as Greek astronomy is concerned, in his statement that Cleostratus was the first to recognise the signs in the zodiac, then Cleostratus may be presumed to have acquired his knowledge of it from Babylon, and it is noteworthy that

¹ See Weidner, *Handbuch der babylonischen Astronomie* (1915), pp. 39, 40, and also 122.

his other contribution of importance to Greek astronomy, the octaeteris, was actually in use in the Babylonian calendar of his time.

I come now to the vexed passage in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, ii. 8 (6), 30, and I abandon at once the idea that 'prima signa' or *πρῶτα σημεῖα* are so called as being in any sense first in the zodiac. I have to thank Mr. Webb for correcting my interpretation of Theon's phrase τοῦ πρώτου ζῳδίου. *πρῶτα σημεῖα* are, as Parmeniscus understood them, first in relation to their own sign or constellation, not in relation to the zodiac. There is no reason, therefore, to inquire which signs possessed *πρῶτα σημεῖα*. The phrase might be used in relation to any constellation if *σημεῖον* is a star, regarded as giving an indication of the weather or time of year or time of night, and it might be used of any sign of the zodiac if understood in Parmeniscus' sense as referring to the first degrees of a sign. Now, if Breithaupt is right in supposing that the statement in Pliny is derived through Varro from Parmeniscus, then we may take it that Pliny, who did not know Cleostratus at first hand, is describing not so much what Cleostratus wrote as what Parmeniscus found in him, and I would suggest that Parmeniscus had recorded some references to the beginnings or *πρῶτα σημεῖα* of Aries and Sagittarius, just as he did to the beginning of Scorpio. The references to the beginnings of Aries and Sagittarius may well have been mentioned by Parmeniscus in a different work from the reference to the beginning of Scorpio, and hence they could pass into Pliny without the 'prima Scorpil.' After all, a commentary on Euripides is not the place where one quarries information about astronomy, and Pliny's statements are more likely to have come from Parmeniscus' work on the sky.

I should then propose, as before, to take Pliny's 'prima' either substantively or, with 'signa' supplied from the first half of the clause, in the sense of 'first things' or 'first points.' Whether Pliny understood what Parmeniscus meant by the term I do not know. That Parmeniscus did not understand what Cleostratus meant by the term is certain. Whether Cleostratus actually used the phrase *πρῶτα σημεῖα* of Aries and Sagittarius as well as of Scorpio, or whether 'prima' represents some other phrase which Parmeniscus understood in the same sense as *πρῶτα σημεῖα*, I am not prepared to say. There need be no difficulty in the reference to the 'prima' of these signs without a similar reference to the 'prima' of the other signs, for Cleostratus presumably referred only to those *πρῶτα σημεῖα* that he considered worth mentioning as connected with some season of the year. Perhaps these were the only signs for which Parmeniscus cited Cleostratus in his work on the sky.

Mr. Webb's view is that Pliny meant that 'Cleostratus devised the constellations' in the zodiacal belt, 'and first those of the Ram and the Archer.' If this were the meaning, we should have expected 'arietem et sagittarium.' But in any case it is impossible. Cleostratus did not publish a series of astronomical pamphlets, suggesting that first one figure and then another could be recognised in different parts of the sky. His zodiacal constellations were certainly introduced once and for all in his *Ἀστρολογία*, and none of them possessed any chronological primacy.

Now, while I admit that in Parmeniscus' sense of the words there might

be *πρῶτα σημεῖα* of any sign of the zodiac, and in an older sense of any constellation that rises and sets, it does not follow that it was at all common to speak of *πρῶτα σημεῖα* in regard to any large number of constellations. And that is the point of my reference to Geminus' citation of the notice in Euctemon, τοῦ Σκορπίου οἱ πρῶτοι ἀστέρες δύνουσιν. Mr. Webb is quite correct in stating that Hipparchus takes us through the constellations, telling us in each case which star rises and which star sets *πρῶτος* (used predicatively), and he also uses *πρῶτος* along with other numerals to define the position of a star in relation to the figure of a constellation, but this does not seem to me to bear on the general or early naming of a star or group of stars as the first star or stars of a constellation. We know that the morning setting of the first stars of Scorpio was so described by Cleostratus and by Euctemon. We have no instance of the phrase 'first stars' applied to stars in respect of their setting or otherwise in any other constellation. There is, therefore, nothing unreasonable in supposing that *πρῶτα δύνειν σημεῖα* in the *Rhesus* refers to the morning setting of these same stars, and, as I have shown, such an interpretation is consistent with the statement that the Eagle is flying in mid-heaven. Parmeniscus knew that the phrase *πρῶτα σημεῖα* was used of Scorpio, and I adhere to the view that he was right in understanding τοῦ Σκορπίου in *Rhesus*, 529. He was, of course, wrong in taking it to refer to the first degrees of Scorpio instead of to the first stars, but I know of no evidence to support Mr. Webb's view that *σημεῖον* was an ancient term for 'degree,' and I have to thank him for an admission communicated to me by letter that he has failed to find any example of such a use.

The earliest Greek writer, so far as we know, who adopted the Babylonian system of reckoning by degrees,² was Hypsicles, who in the *Ἀναφορικὸς*, a (ed. Manitius, 1888), divides the circle into 360 *μοῖραι τοπικαὶ* and the sidereal day into 360 *μοῖραι χρονικαὶ*. A mathematical sign of the zodiac is with him *ζῳδιακόν* and a mathematical point in the heavens *σημεῖον*. The use of mathematically defined signs of the zodiac is, however, far older than Hypsicles. It is customary to attribute it to Euctemon, though there is little evidence for this except that in the *parapegma* of Geminus dates from the *parapegma* of Euctemon are expressed in reference to the passage of the Sun through the signs. It seems to me far simpler to believe that Geminus has fitted Euctemon's dates into the framework of the *parapegma* of Callippus, which is based upon the passage of the Sun through the signs. Dr. Rehm³ has attempted to deduce a zodiacal basis for the *parapegma* of Euctemon from the discrepancies between the intervals given in the Vienna MS. and those which follow from the dates ascribed to Euctemon by Geminus and Ptolemy, but he does not appear to me to have made out his case. If, however, the mathematically defined signs do not go back to Euctemon, they were certainly used by Eudoxus, who, according to Hipparchus,⁴ placed the solstitial and equinoctial

² The Babylonian measures are summarised in a paper which I contributed with Dr. Langdon's assistance to *The Observatory*, xlii. (1919), pp. 46-51.

³ Das *Parapegma* des Euktemon, *Stz-*

angehörte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse (1913), 3 Abb.

⁴ In Arati et Eudoxi *Phaenomena* Comm., n. 1, 15.

points in the middle of their respective signs, though most, if not all, of the ἀρχαῖοι μαθηματικοὶ² had placed them at the beginnings of their signs. Geminus³ attributes to the ἀρχαῖοι a theory of the position and duration of the rising and setting of the different zodiacal signs, which agrees with Eudoxus' scheme and assumes a mathematical division of all the signs. We have it clearly established, therefore, that the ἀρχαῖοι busied themselves with the rising and setting of the mathematical points which separated the mathematical subdivisions of the invisible ecliptic; and what were these points but the first points or πρῶτα σημεῖα of their respective zodiacal signs? So Parmeniscus is probably correct in stating that the ἀρχαῖοι called the πρῶτα μοῖραι by the name πρῶτα σημεῖα. His error lies in carrying back to Cleostratus and Euripides, if it be Euripides, a sense for πρῶτα σημεῖα which is probably not older than the fourth century before Christ. The context shows that Cleostratus was not dealing with the daily setting of the πρῶτα σημεῖα of Scorpio, but with their annual setting; and annual risings and settings are never those of the signs of the invisible ecliptic.

Mr. Webb tries to save the astronomy of the passage in the *Rheus* and simultaneously to condemn the identification of πρῶτα σημεῖα with the first stars of Scorpio to set, by suggesting that the reference to the position of the Eagle is quite vague. This seems to me impossible. The position of the stars is given as the reason for believing that the time has come for changing the watch, and it is indicated by stars setting, rising, and culminating. If the Eagle was no more in mid-heaven than it had been for the last two hours, its position there would be no evidence that the time for changing the watch had come. Nor can I see how πρῶτα σημεῖα can mean simply the 'stars that were up when we came on guard.' Of course the stars now setting, unless extremely close to the meridian, must have stood higher at the beginning of the watch, but unless the phrase refers to some particular stars it is meaningless. At all hours of the watch stars, formerly higher, were setting.

The term ἀρχαῖοι is a very common one in Greek astronomical literature from the second century before Christ onwards. I do not believe that it always has the same reference, though there may be particular writers with whom it has such a definite significance, but when used without a noun it seems always to apply to astronomers, astrologers, or astronomical geographers, and generally to a class who used an older nomenclature or older mathematical methods than those that were current in the writer's day. It is twice used by Hipparchus (*Comm.*, i. 5. 6; i. 8. 12) of the astronomers who marked out the constellations, and would therefore be applicable to Cleostratus.

I must apologise for my carelessness on p. 173 of my paper, where a sentence is so worded as to imply that Hipparchus began his series of signs with the actual spring equinox. My meaning was, 'If Parmeniscus began his series of signs with Aries, and, like Hipparchus, began Aries with the actual spring equinox.' To the evidence cited by Mr. Webb to show that Hipparchus treated Cancer as the first sign I can add the summary of Hipparchus' catalogue

² In Arati et Eudoxi Phaenomena Comm.,

³ *Ibid.*, ii. 27, and vii. 19.

ii. l. 19.

of stars, published by Boll in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, 3rd series, ii. (1901), pp. 185-195.

Mr. Webb combats my view that the successive cycles propounded by Greek astronomers from the sixth to the fourth century B.C. are not the result of improved knowledge of the relative mean durations of days, months, and years, but are merely attempts made with gradually elaborated accuracy to combine known durations in a cyclical form. To this I reply that the length of the lunation given by the 'saros,' and, therefore, known at least as early as the time of Thales, is more exact than any of the lengths of the lunation resulting from the different cycles propounded by astronomers before Hipparchus. I do not say that every astronomer who propounded a cycle was acquainted with the 'saros.' But it is clear that the 'saros' was known at Babylon; it had been known to Thales, and it was presumably known to some of the more accurate of the Greek astronomers that followed him. A cycle, to be of practical value, must not be of too long duration and must therefore submit to a certain degree of inaccuracy. The cycles of 19, 160, and 76 years do not imply a better knowledge of the length of the lunation than was possessed by the framers of octaeterides, but merely bear testimony to a demand among astronomers for a self-regulating calendar of precision, a demand which was eventually abandoned, because experience showed that the simplicity of the Egyptian or of the Julian Calendar was a much greater asset than the precision with which the lunar phases were represented by more complicated rivals.

An instructive example of the way in which cycles were framed is provided by the two cycles of 59 years which go by the names of Philolaus and Oenopides, for which reference may be made to Censorinus 18, 8 and 19, 2, Aelian V.H. x. 7, and Aetius II. 32, 2 (all included in Diels, *Fragments der Vorsokratiker*, 3rd Ed. xxix. 8, 9, xxxii. 22), and to Plato, *Republic*, ix. 587E, 588A. From these it will be seen that Philolaus, who may well have been expressing a Pythagorean tradition, reckons 59 'days and nights' to the month, 729 'days and nights' to the year, and 729 months or 59 years to the great year. It will be remembered that 729 is the cube of 9 and is introduced as such in the passage in Plato. The crude 59 days and nights to the month cannot be the result of a careful analysis of observations, and the number 729 is certainly adopted for mystical reasons. In Oenopides these numbers become $59\frac{1}{2}$ days and nights in the month, $730\frac{1}{2}$ days and nights in the year, 730 months or 59 years in the great year. It is of the essence of a great year that it should contain an exact number of the smaller measures of time. Oenopides continues the Pythagorean tradition of making the numbers of years and months respectively in the great year repeat the number of days and nights in the month and year, but substitutes the more correct 730 for 729 as the number of days and nights in the year, adopts as the length of his cycle the nearest whole number of days to the true astronomical duration of a period of 730 months as given by the 'saros' and divides his cycle by 730 and 59 respectively in order to obtain the mean length of month and year. The exact length of month and year is not taken from observation, but is derived from the length of the cycle. A. Mommsen's suggestion¹ that the cycle of Oenopides did not

¹ *Ueber die Zeit der Olympien* (1891), p. 85.

contain 22 intercalations in 59 years, but 59 intercalations in 160 years is ridiculous.

The solstice observations of the early Greek astronomers were of value for two reasons:—(1) They enabled the observer to determine his position in the solar year; (2) they rendered it possible to fix the intervals between the solstices and other annual astronomical events. Incidentally they revealed to Euctemon the inequality in the duration of the seasons, or, otherwise expressed, in the annual motion of the Sun, just as other observations enabled Callippus to introduce an inequality into the motion of the Moon. Anyone familiar either with ancient or with modern astronomy will realise that the determination of epochs and short-period inequalities demands a far shorter range of observations than the determination of mean motions.

I may perhaps be permitted to notice here a criticism passed by Professor Nilsson, *Primitive Time-Reckoning* (1920), pp. 364, 365, on my explanation of the statement made by Co[m]marchus and the Pindar scholiasts, that the Olympic games were celebrated sometimes (not necessarily alternately) in Apollonius, sometimes in Parthenius. I interpreted Co[m]marchus, cited by one of the scholiasts, as saying that the Olympic games were always in the eighth month from Thosythias. I inferred that if an intercalary month fell within the seven months following Thosythias, the Olympic games would fall in one calendar month, and that if no intercalary month intervened, they would fall in another. To this Professor Nilsson objects that 'the Greek feasts were bound up with the months, which were named from some of them; this association prevented a feast being transferred to a month with another name, i. e. the feast was fixed with reference to the name of the month, not to its number.' This objection would, of course, tell with equal force against all theories which accept the statements of Co[m]marchus and the scholiasts, that the Olympic games fell sometimes in Apollonius, sometimes in Parthenius. We have to face the facts that in this case no month was named after the games, and that the games did fall sometimes in one month, sometimes in another. Professor Nilsson's theory is that by an ancient rule older than the Elean calendar the games were celebrated at intervals of 50 and 49 months alternately, and that the Elean calendar was a fixed octaeteris, which happened to be so arranged that there was only one intercalation in the Olympic interval of 50 months, and two in the Olympic interval of 49 months. How this escapes his own criticism I fail to see. He has to admit that the feast was regulated by the number, not by the name of the months. In any case it would not prove the antiquity of the calendrical octaeteris.

J. K. FOTHERINGHAM.

STUDIES IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN BELIEFS OF THE EMPIRE

INTRODUCTORY

WE may regard Imperial religion as having two main elements, the piety of public life or of the family on the one hand, the more intense piety of the small group or of the devout individual on the other. These two, though differing, are not to be regarded as opposites; they rest on the basis of common conceptual forms and of common beliefs, deepened and enlarged in the second case.¹ In both we find *μαρτύρια*,² in both also the intimate association of the well-being of city or Empire with the ritual.³ Even in its individualism this religion is not consciously individualist: the possessor of religious experience may regard what has been manifested to him as a revelation of truth that all men share.⁴ Religion in either form is distinct from magic, if we mean by that term the individual's attempt to put supernatural forces in harness for his own ends.⁵ Such magic is different from religion and can be quite divorced therefrom. Nevertheless, such isolation is not characteristic of the Empire. The religious practised magic, and it could hardly be said that in their belief they were free from magical conceptions; the later Neoplatonists, in their attempt to spiritualise and revive paganism, took magic under their protection. At the same time magicians accumulated religious formulae in their endeavour to secure the use of the greatest possible amount of divine power for their purposes, and were obviously much influenced by religious

¹ For the importance of the group or *klasse* cf. *Cl. Rev.* 1924, p. 105 ff.; but we must not under-estimate the significance of the individual believer.

² Cf. an inscription of Prusias *I.G. Rom.* iii. 63 (Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 528), l. 10, καὶ μαρτυρίῃ καὶ ἐκκλησίῃ καὶ ἐπαρρησίῃ καὶ τοῖς πρύθις καὶ αἰεὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ποταμῶν ἱερεῶν, where the *μαρτύρια* probably belong to *Classe*-worship. The divine personification of the city *Sale* is called ΜΥΣΤΙΣ, *R.H.C. Lycia*, p. 163, n. 126, Pl. XXIX. 2. *μαρτύρια* in itself means no more than 'secret rites' (Bohacq. *Dict. Étym.*, p. 654; Farnell, *Culte*, iii. p. 129 ff.); for the increase in such under the Empire cf. Lécrivain, *Dev.-Sag.* iii. p. 2137.

³ Cf. *I.G. Rom.* i. 662, l. 19 (*Dionysopolis*), θεῶν τε καὶ ἐκκλησίῃ καὶ ἐπαρρησίῃ καὶ ἀγῶνι καὶ ἱεροῖς καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ποταμῶν καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῶν (last sent. n.c.), Ramsey, *C.B.* i. p. 290, n. 127 (dedications by the *akroa* *Ahi*

Zeßälan for city, etc.), *I.G. Rom.* iii. 102 (with W. M. Ramsay's notes, *J.R.S.* xii. p. 165 ff.) for the association of a hierophant with the dedication by the *Koinon* of Galatia, *C.I.L.* ii. 5521 (Corduba: 238 a.d.), *ex iussu Matris domini pro salute imperii laudationem fecit*, and the ritual of the *Kuroi Tekmoreioi* discussed by W. M. Ramsay, *Studies*, p. 305 ff.

⁴ Cf. *Carm. lat. apig.* 25, 4, *inde exacti difficinus*, and *Cl. Rev.* 1924, p. 59. On the individual aspect of Hellenistic belief, cf. K. Lehmann, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, II, p. 205.

⁵ We are here putting on one side the harmless agrarian or weather-controlling magic often practised by or for a community, as for instance the ascent of young men clad in skins to the cave of Chiron at the rising of the Dogstar (Hesiod. *Inscr. Græc.* ii. 8; in *Geogr. gr. min.* i. p. 107), or the rain-making in Arcadia (Pausan. viii. 38, 4) and at Crannon in Thessaly (Anth. *Hed. mir.* 15).

modes of thought.⁶ Accordingly, we may and must make use of magical papyri in our attempt to reconstruct the religious attitude of the mass of mankind in the Roman world.

For this attempt our other material consists chiefly of inscriptions, coins, papyri, and certain literary documents, notably the eleventh book of the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius.⁷ The present paper is an attempt to elucidate thence certain general principles and particular applications.⁸

I. DIVINE POWER

§ 1. Without seeking to impose a general formula on a mass of varied phenomena, we may assert that one of the notes of much belief in its evolution under the Empire is that it is directed to divine power rather than to divine personalities. Aristides says of Serapis in a striking passage, 'Who he is and what nature he has, Egyptian priests and prophets may be left to say. We shall praise him sufficiently for the moment if we tell of the many and great benefits to man of which he is revealed to be the author. At the same time, his nature can be seen through these very facts. If we have said what he can do and

⁶ A magical process is described as *τελετή* (*P. Leid. W.* vi. 18) in Dieterich, *Abraxas* p. 187, 12, *ἐλεγχὴ δὲ τελετῆς τῆς Μανδύας προσηγορίῃς αὐτὴν λέγουσιν*, p. 200, 17, *ἀρχὴ δὲ τελετῆς*, p. 200, 23, *P. Par.* 26, 1596, 2205; for the Byzantine use of the word, cf. R. M. Dawkins, *Folklore*, 1924, p. 226: *τελεσίμαντις* comes to mean 'enchanted,' since many objects used magically needed some preliminary operation to animate and excite their hidden powers; cf. *P. Par.* 2967 ff. for this treatment as applied to a herb; the *Cyranides* passim for its application to stones, also S. Eitrem, *Leina Louisa* (appropriated from *Festschrift ill. Bibliothek A. Kiær*: Kristiania, 1924), p. 1, 3 ff.; for *μετήγχευσις* of alchemical processes, etc. cf. J. Böhr, *Philol. Suppl.* XVII p. 84 f., its recipient as *μετέγχευσις* (cf. *P. Par.* 744, Th. Hopfner, *Griechisch-Ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, ii. p. 14, § 28); it is supposed to be handed down from father to son (cf. Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, p. 52, with Weisbach's note, p. 230, cf. *Cyran.* III p. 28, p. 43). In magic we find also the same desire for intimate union with the deity addressed which is regular in organic cults (cf. Dieterich, op. cit. p. 97 ff.), and the notion of *mithras sacra* (*P. Par.* i. 193, cf. Reitzenstein, *Religionsgesch. Mythenreligionen*, p. 73 ff.)

⁷ We can hardly agree with Gruppe's view (*B. ph. W.* 1911, p. 931 f.), that the character of the earlier part of the work militates against the view that the end

represents genuine conviction in Apuleius when writing. Lammie tells first of his sin, then of his conversion and the new life it involved.

⁸ I should wish to express my thanks to Mr. A. R. Cook for advice and help, and to Mr. C. T. Salmon for useful suggestions and corrections. The following abbreviations are here used, in addition to those customary in the *Journal*: *B. ph. W.* = *Berliner Philologischer Wochenchrift*, K.P. i. ii. iii. = J. Keil and A. Von Premerstein: *Bericht über eine erste, zweite, dritte Reise in Lydien in Denkschr. Ak. Wiss. Wien, phil. hist. Kl.* LIII. ii., LIV. ii., and LVII. i., respectively; *I.G. Rom.* = *Inscriptiones graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, Dess. = Dessau, *Inscriptiones latinae selectae*, *P. Par.* for the great Paris magical papyrus (*Suppl. gr.* 574) as edited by K. Wessely, *Denkschr. Wien*, XXXVI. ii. (1889), (other papyrological abbreviations are as in general use), *Le Bas* = *Le Bas-Waddington, Papyrus Archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure: Inscriptions*, V. (1858-1870), Cumont T.M. = Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, Not. = *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*, *Mittels. Wilcken* = *Mittels und Wilcken, Grundzüge und Chrestomathie d. Papyrskunde*, A.E.W. = *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, J.T.S. = *Journal of Theological Studies*, Ramsay, C.D. = Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, Dittenb. G.G.I. = Dittenberger, *Orientalis graeci inscriptiones selectae*.

μέγιστον καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἄρχουσα,¹⁹ ὃ μέγας ἐστὶ καὶ δυνατὸς ἐν δυνάμει | χλαιοῖς, ὃ μακάριον πάντων τε μέγιστος ὑπάρχων | καὶ δυνατὸς κραίνειν ταῦτα γὰρ ἐστὶ θεοῦ | τοῦ κατέχοντος κόσμον,²⁰ ἅγιος εἰ ὁ πάσης δυνάμεως ἰσχυρότερος.²¹

Men's attitude towards divine power was commonly not passive. They desired to be strengthened by receiving it. Such reception was the object of the *taurobolium* as practised in this period,²² and again of Gnostic post-baptismal regeneration²³ and of the devotion of adherents of Hermes Trismegistus.²⁴ Its attainment was the aim of many magical practices.²⁵ By divine power man could, it was thought, be raised and ennobled.²⁶ Knowledge might be thought to involve reception. We read in the *Confessio Sancti Cypriani* that the parents of Cyprian of Antioch wished him to acquire knowledge of all the ἐνέργειαι of the gods in every kind of matter: earlier in the document he is made to say, οὐτε γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐμοῦ <οὐδεὶς> δευσιδαιμονιώτερος ποτε γενέσθαι δυνήσεται οὐτε διερευνήσαι τὰ περὶ θεῶν τῶν λεγομένων οὐτε ἐπιείσθαι τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν ἐνεργείας.²⁷ In particular the name of the deity invoked might be thought to confer power.²⁸ The desire for δυνάμεις, ἀρετή, *virtus* comes out clearly in the curious invocations we have of herbs

¹⁹ Sonn. Nectaneb, col. ii. 17 (in E. Lavagnini, *Érot. frag. pap.* p. 39).

²⁰ I.G. Rom. iv. 1529, 10 ff.

²¹ Corp. Herm. i. 31.

²² Cf. H. Graillet, *Le culte de Cybèle*, p. 167 f.

²³ S. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* i. 14, p. 181, Harvey: λέγουσι δεῖν αὐτὸν (sc. τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικόν) ἀσχυρὰν εἶναι καὶ τὴν τελείαν γνώσιν εἰσφέρειν, ὅτι εἰ τὸν ὑπερ πάντων δυνάμει δυνάμενος ἐννοεῖται.

²⁴ Cf. Corp. Herm. i. 27, ὅτι [the man Ptolemaios has been instructing] ἐκ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς καὶ ἐκλογικῆς τῶν πατέρων τῶν ἁγίων δεῖν αὐτὸν διαμαρτυρεῖν καὶ δεδωκεῖν τοῦ παντός τῃ φύσει καὶ τῇ μεγίστῃ θέᾳ, ib. i. 32 [the final prayer], αἰτούμενος ἐλθεῖν ἀφ' ὧν τῆς γνώσεως τῆς κατ' ἀρετήν ἡμεῖς ἐκτεταμένοι καὶ ἐκτεταμένοι με καὶ τῇ χάριτι ταύτῃ φέμενοι τὰς ἐν ἀρετῇ τοῦ γένους μου ἀδελφεάς, εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦ φέμεναι implies a conception of this divine power as light very commonly found in religious texts of our period: cf. G. P. Watter, 402, *Skrifter utgifna af K. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Uppsala*, XVII. i. (1915), and ch. iii. of the Prolegomena to my forthcoming edition of Sallustius.

²⁵ Cf. P. Par. 1665, [prayer to Sun] εἰς λόγῳ καὶ δόξῃ σου δυνάμει τῇ θεῇ τοῦ Ὁ, 1610, εἰς δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ χάριν καὶ τέχνην καὶ δυνάμει, 167, ἐκδιδόνον, P. Lond. 121, 648 W. — p. 116 K., [give me] τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ Σαβῶν [Sabaoth] Κεφ., 691 W. — 926 K., εἰς λόγῳ δυνάμει τῇ φωνῇ σου, P. Parthey, i.

273, καὶ δυνάμει καὶ πύρρι φέμεται καὶ δυνάμει φυλακτῆρι τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέργειαν ἢ ἄλλαν ἔχει, P. Lond. V. ii. 13, vii. 18, W. Dielsch, vii. 13 (Abbasas, J. S. p. 190, 6), vii. 16, and for a claim to possess it, P. Par. 1828, ἐμοὶ τῇ εὐχῇ αὐτὸ (sc. τὸ θεῖον) καὶ πύρρι φέμεται τῇ ἀδελφῇ σου ἐκτετατος λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ: we may note also the phrase, P. Par. 477, εὐχὴ τῇ φωνῇ σου δυνάμει.

²⁶ Cf. P. Par. 518, βιβλατιόμοις ἐκτετατος μεγαλοδυνάμει καὶ δυνάμει χερσὶ ἀφάρτου.

²⁷ *Actus Sanctorum Sept.* vii. p. 204, 205. In this passage I have inserted εὐχὴ (rather than the <en> of Baluzius after Duchesne) and substituted δυνάμει for δυνάμει σου. ἐνέργειαν is a common word in magical texts, as P. Par. 160, 1718, P. Minus, 289, cf. P. Parthey, i. 194, ἐνεργεῖται, Hippol. *Refut.* v. 7, 22, p. 84, Wendland, preserves a Naassene tradition that the Egyptians taught all men the εἶδος and ἐνεργείας of the gods; cf. Corp. Herm. xvi. 13, p. 352, 23, Bauckham — 270, I. Scott, δυνάμει τοῦ ἀσίου ἐνέργειαν, Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 262, 4, of Zeus of Baithoknike.

²⁸ Cf. P. Par. 216, ἐκτετατος τῇ ἐνέργειᾳ σου δυνάμει. The name is naturally of supreme importance in invocations, cf. R. H. Connolly, *J.T.S.* xxv. p. 354 f., also P. Parthey, ii. 127, εὐχὴ καὶ δυνάμει τῇ τοῦ μεγίστου σου θεοῦ γένει, and the treatise of J. Röhrt quoted in the next note, p. 12 f. (ib. p. 15 ff. on ἐνέργειαν).

supposed to possess occult qualities.²⁹ It may be noted in passing that as ἀρετή, δύναμις, *virtus* are used of supernatural power, so ἀρεταί, δυνάμεις, *virtutes* can signify its manifestations.³⁰

§ 2. This concentration of interest on divine power rather than on divine personality gives a satisfactory explanation of the general absence of exclusiveness from Imperial paganism.³¹ In the fourth century this is marked: Julian is described by Libanius as ἐν τελεταῖς μυρίαῖς ὁμιλήσας δαίμοσιν,³² while Paulina's epitaph makes her say to her husband, M. Vettius Agorius Praetextatus,—

Te testis vincit imbuor mysteriis

and refer to the *taurobolium* (l. 26 f.), the mysteries of Hecate (l. 28), and the better known rites of Eleusis (l. 29).³³ Sallustius says clearly, in the fourth chapter of his work *Concerning the gods and the Universe*, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πᾶσα τελετή πρὸς τὸν κόσμον ἡμῶν καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς συνάπτειν ἐθέλει. So earlier Mithraism, though a powerful cult making for monotheism,³⁴ never became exclusive, and was in fact closely associated with the worship of Cybele.³⁵ Its adherents appear as making dedications to Caelus aeternus (himself no stranger in Mithraism), Iuno regina, and Minerva together,³⁶ and to Mercurius innotus.³⁷

²⁹ As P. Par. 2907 ff., e.g. 2908, ἡ δὲ αὐτὴ δύναμις ἐκ τῆς ἁλῆς καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκείνης ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκείνη λαμπρότης καὶ τὸν ἀγαθὸν τοῦ καὶ ἀγαθὸν δαίμονος καὶ τὸ κατὰ θεὸν καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς πρὸς πάντα (cf. for λαμπρότης a spell *Ternum tenes, herbam lego*: in nomine Christi promit ad quod te colligo given by Marcellus Empiricus, xxv. 13), *Anthol. lat.* ed. Riese², l. p. 28, n. 6, l. 7, una hinc ordo est omni vestris virtutibus, a Greek treatise, *De herbis*, edited by W. Haupt, *Gymn.* ii. p. 475 ff., l. 76, ἐκ τῆς δύναμτος βοδίνης καὶ χοίρειας ἔργα. Cf. in general J. Röhr's work, *Der okkulte Kraftbegriff im Altertum* (*Philol. Suppl.* XVII, 1, 1923), in which abundant illustrations of this kind of belief will be found. Pfister suggests (*Poëty-Wisdom*, xi. p. 2155, 21 ff.) that the *formam* of a word is firstly its image power, secondly its meaning.

³⁰ So ἀρεταί of works of healing (cf. Weinreich ap. Ditt. *Syll.*³ 1172, 8), and of the miracles of wonder-working images (*Le Bas*, 619), ἀρετή in the singular of divine punishment for sin compelling the offender to make public confession (Buckler, *B.S.A.* xxi. p. 186); *lucrum* of miraculous cures (Grimm-Thayer, *Lex. N.T.*³ p. 159 b, *P. Oxy.* 1381, l. 41, 90, 216; Aristid. *Λαλ. εἰς Ἀντιόχειον*, i. 4, l. p. 64, Dindorf), of divine visitations (*K.P.* ii. n. 204, *Le Bas*, 603), and more generally, as *Le Bas*, 2683, *P. Leif.* v. xl. 25, while *ἀρετῶν* *ἀρετῶν* is inscribed under an engraving of a thunderbolt at Thyateira in Lydia

(*B.C.H.* x. p. 401, n. 4, cf. *K.P.* ii. p. 17). For *virtutes* cf. *Passio S. Perpetuae*, l. p. 62, 14, Gebhardt, xxi. p. 95, 1, also *Ter. Ad.* 536; *potentia* occurs in a concrete sense in *Apul. Met.* xi. 13.

³¹ Cf. G. P. Wotter, 462, p. 53.

³² *Orat.* XXIV, § 36 (ii. p. 520, 4, Förster); cf. *Eunap. fr.* 23 (*F.H.G.* iv. p. 23) καὶ δαίμονας ἐκείνους αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἐκείνους.

³³ *Carm. lat. epigr.* ed. Büscheler, 111, 25. *Hecates tria sacra* refers perhaps to mysteries celebrated at Aegina, cf. Pausan. ii. 36; Löbeck, *Aphrodisias*, p. 242.

³⁴ Cf. Cumont, *T.M.* i. p. 338.

³⁵ Silvanus was not excluded (*T.M.* ii. p. 103, *inacr.* 64, p. 467, *inacr.* 54 a); a dedication to the native deity Cissonius was found in the Mithraeum recently discovered at Königshofen (*Ann. Epigr.* 1920, 128).

For the relations of Cybele worship and Mithraism, cf. *T.M.* i. p. 332. In view of Cumont's denial that the *taurobolium* ever formed part of the Mithraic liturgy (*T.M.* i. p. 334), it may be noted that a pit and hypocaust almost certainly intended to serve this purpose exist in the Mithraeum in the Baths of Caracalla (Lanciani, *La Zona monumentale di Roma*, pt. A, p. 58): here at least the *taurobolium* is closely connected with rites peculiar to Mithraism, and it was probably borrowed from the cult of Cybele.

³⁶ *Deas*, 3949.

³⁷ *Id.* 3197.

Inscriptions tell us likewise of a *ministra Matris magnae* repairing a statue of Bellona,³⁸ of a *fanaticus Bellonae* making his offering to the Mater magna,³⁹ and of one who had received the *taurobolium* presenting an ex-voto to Serapis.⁴⁰ They tell us also of extraordinary combinations of priestly offices in one person. One Rufus Volsinianus was *pater, ierofanta, profeta Isidis, pontifex dei Solis*, and he is not an isolated figure.⁴¹

Exceptions to this rule of non-exclusiveness are rare. Apart from isolated texts like that at Saïttai in Lydia, *εἰς θεὸς ἐν οὐρανοῖς μέγας, Μὴν οὐράνιος· μεγάλη δύναμις τοῦ ἀθανάτου θεοῦ*,⁴² only the Egyptian deities claim to hold the field alone. Isis was worshipped as *μία* at Letopolis,⁴³ and *εἰς Ζεὺς Σέραπις* is very frequent, sometimes expanded and in such a form as *εἰς Ζεὺς Σέραπις ἐπιφανὴς σωτήρ*.⁴⁴ This exclusiveness was felt as such and at times resented, as would appear to be shown by a small stone slab found in the Mithraeum under the Baths of Caracalla. On one side of it may now be read

ΕΙΣ ΖΕΥΣ | ΜΙΤΡΑΣ | ΗΛΙΟΣ | ΚΟΣΜΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ | ΑΝΕΙΚΗΤΟΣ.

Careful examination has, however, revealed the fact that the third word was originally ΣΑΡΑΠΙΣ, not ΜΙΤΡΑΣ.⁴⁵ The original ΣΑΡΑΠΙΣ was probably due, as M. Cumont suggests, to the Egyptianising tendencies of Caracalla, *ὁ φιλοσέραπις*.⁴⁶ After his death the priests of Mithras were free to erase the intruding name. It should be remarked that the exclusive claims of Serapis were not always pressed.⁴⁷ If adherents of Serapis could arouse opposition, much more so could the Jews with their rigid monotheism, and this was notably the case in Egypt: one interesting papyrus tells of a direct battle of religions before Trajan and of the miracles then performed by Serapis.⁴⁸

From this interest in *ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμις* we can understand the habit in art of investing one deity with the attributes of others. By so representing

³⁸ C.I.L. ix. 3146.

³⁹ C.I.L. vi. 490.

⁴⁰ Dess. 4396.

⁴¹ Dess. 4413: *pater* probably refers to the cult of Mithras, *ierofanta* to that of Hecate (Dessau *ad. loc.*). Cf. *Carm. lat. epigr.* 264, 1529 a, Ramsay, C.B. i. p. 246, *inacr.* 88, Kaibel, *Epigr. gr.* 588.

⁴² K.P. ii. p. 197, n. 210.

⁴³ P. Oxy. 1380, 6.

⁴⁴ Cf. Weinreich, *Neue Urkunden*, p. 24 ff., for illustrations of this, as also of *εἰς ἑνὶ Σέραπι εἰς φέρον* (cf. *Le Bas*, 2313, *Λεπιδ. εἰς*, P. Por. 1814, *εἰς Σέραπιν, Μίτραν, Γαβριήλ, Ὀρσην, Μιανήν, Τετραχ. Ιερουήλ*).

⁴⁵ L. Canet *op. Cumont C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1910, p. 313 ff. On the other side of the slab (which Paribeni, *Le Terme di Diocleziano*, p. 125, n. 205, calls an 'aretta') is inscribed *αἱ εἰς μέγαν Σέραπιν σωτήρ*

κατασθέντι ἰσχυρῶς ἐκπύργη ἀνεστήρ Μίτρον χαριεργόν (Ghislarzoni, *Not.* 1912, p. 323).

⁴⁶ I.G. Rom. i. 1063.

⁴⁷ Cf. a lamp inscribed *μεγάλῃ Σέραπιν καὶ θεῶν κῆρι* (*Bull. Soc. Alex.* iv. p. 98, n. 71), a Cnidian dedication *Σέραπιδι, Ἰακῷ, θεῶν κῆρι* (*Lebas*, 511), and the profession of faith we have from one Sannos (*Mémoires Wülfen*, I. ii. p. 147, n. 116), which, while enjoining special reverence to Isis and Serapis says, I. 2, *εἶθον τὸ θεῶν, θεῶν τῶν καὶ θεῶν*.

⁴⁸ P. Oxy. 1242 (according to von Premerstein, *Philol. Suppl.* xvi. 2 (1923), p. 64 ff. part of a larger work, which he dates in the time of Commodus). Religious antagonism was not, it seems, the only motive for this anti-Semitism, on which cf. U. Wilcken, *Abh. ägypt. Ges. Wiss.* xxvii. (1909), p. 827, H.-I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, p. 10 f.

the god you invested him with an accumulation of divine powers.⁴⁰ You also—and this is a natural step—might regard him as essentially one with the other deities whose attributes he bore. In consequence of the attitude of mind we are studying, the instinct tending towards monotheism found expression in the view 'Isis is essentially the same as Artemis, Aphrodite, Hera and the like, possessing all the powers with which they are credited,' and not in the view 'Isis is the one true goddess: Artemis, Aphrodite, Hera and the like are figments of the imagination.' Dedications to all the gods had been not uncommon⁴¹: later, in dedicating to Isis, *una quae es omnia*,⁴² you would feel that *regina Isis* was the true name under which to worship the queen of all nations.⁴³ The glorifications of Isis found at Oxyrhynchos and at Andros imply this unifying conception.⁴⁴ From this it was not hard for Symmachus to infer, as he does, *uno itinere non potest perveniri ad tam grande secretum*⁴⁵: the *divum nomen* is *multiplex*, as Paulina says in her epitaph, *dei Aeterni Iovis O. M. Dolicheus] nato ubi ferrum exoritur: these virtues appear to be the active effluences of the supreme deity*.⁴⁶ Here we have, then, evidence for the diffusion of an idea which could ripen into the view expressed by Maximus of Madaura, writing to S. Augustine: *unum esse deum . . . quis tam demens, tam mente captus neget esse certissimum? Huius nos virtutes per mundanum*

⁴⁰ For such monuments cf. Cumont, *Dur.-Soyl.* iv. p. 314 f., also a relief at Neontichos in Lydia combining attributes of Aphrodite and Cybele in one figure (K.P. i. p. 94, Abb. 95), many instances of the investing of Isis with diverse attributes in R. Weisshaupt's useful paper *Jahresh.* xiii. (1910), p. 176 ff. (ib. p. 193 ff. comes of Venus Panthea), a coin of Alexandria struck by Hadrian representing Zeus with attributes of Helios, Serapis, Khneimu, Ammon, Nefth, Poseidon, and Asklepios (*B.M.C. Alexandria*, p. 88, n. 744, Pl. XV., cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. p. 361₂), Tyche Panthea on a coin of Tarsus (*B.M.C. Phrygia*, p. 298, n. 126, Pl. XXXVI. 6). For this view of making a god be such as you represent him cf. A. B. Cook, *Folklore*, 1903, p. 270 f.

⁴¹ Cf. Cumont in the article quoted in n. 41. We may note, *P. Oxy.* 1766, 18, *θεοῖς ὡς αὐτὸν εἰσάγει*, Ditt. *Syll.*³ 1153, *εὐδὲν θεῶν προσηύδα*.

⁴² *Deas.* 4362 (ut Capua).

⁴³ *Apul. Met.* xi. 5.

⁴⁴ *P. Oxy.* 1380, Kaibel, *Epigr. gr.* 1028 (= *I.G.* xii. 3, 739), cf. *Apul. Met.* xi. 2, 5; Isis is *μυστέριος* (*O.G.I.* 405, 2, *Deas.* 4361, 4376a), *εὐαγέριος* (Kaibel, 1029, 5, *P. Oxy.* 1380, 97). Cf. an invocation of Selene-Artemis-Hecate-Kypris-Deo at Hierapolis in Cilicia (*J.G. Rom.* iii. 903), the Naameine hymn to Attis (*ap. Hippol.*

Ref. v. 7, 22, p. 83, 22, Wendland), an invocation of Apollo-Titan-Osiris-Mithras in *Stat. Theb.* i. 716 ff., and *P. Leid.* v. 8, 65 f., *ὅτι καὶ θεῶν πρὸς ταύτῃ τὸ μέγα ἔκτα ἐκκαλεσάμεν, καὶ πάλιν ἐκκαλεῖται: πρὸς κατὰ μὲν Ἀφροδίτης φωνεῖται ἱεῖρας, κατὰ δ' Ἰουδαίου Ἀδωνος Σαρβάθ, κατὰ Ἑλλήνων δὲ πάντων ἀδωρχοῦ βασιλέως, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ ἐργαστοῦ ἀντιπρὸς ἀδωνι, πάντας ἱεροῦν, κατὰ δὲ παρθοῦ σερ . . . παντοδύναστο, ἀπὸ Πλάτ. ἱερομαχοῦ (*Cramer, Anecdota Parisiana*, i. p. 170, 28), § 39, where the governor of Egypt is made to say *θεῶν μὴ* (so *θεῶν* is unattested) *καὶ ἀντιπρὸς κατὰ τοὺς θεοὺς μὴδ' ἄλλαν διαφέρει θεῶν ἀπὸ θεῶν*.*

⁴⁵ *Relatio pro ara Pacis*, § 10.

⁴⁶ *Carm. lat. epig.* 111, 15.

⁴⁷ *Deas.* 4303, supplemented by Cumont, *Rev. phil.* 1902, p. 7 f., *Études Syriennes*, p. 197. Cumont compares *S. Aug. Civ. Dei*, iv. 11, and the Philonism *ἱερομαχία*. For the notion of effluences cf. *P. Leid. J.* 384, viii. 7, *τὸ αὐτὸ ἀνέρχεται τὴν ἀντίρρην εἰς ἱερόν, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτὸν*. Sallustianus, *eli. ii.*, makes the gods functions of the First Cause. The rhetorician Alexander remarks that philosophical teaching makes the Divine have neither beginning nor end in time, and that Plato harmonised this with the popular view by making the ordinary gods proceed from the first god (*ix. p. 336, 19 ff., Waks*).

opus diffusas multis uocabulis inuocamus, quoniam nomen eius proprium cuncti scilicet ignoramus, and by Macrobius in a solar form: *et sicut Maro, cum de una Iunone dicit*

quo numine laeso,

*ostendit unius dei effectus varios pro uariis censendos esse numinibus, ita diuersae uirtutes solis nomina dis dederunt.*⁵⁷ There were naturally many intermediary stages.⁵⁸ This belief in a single Supreme Being did not prevent its adherents from participating in ordinary public worship. Thus Julian, who had an exalted idea of the Supreme Being, held that He was pleased if men pay honour to the subordinates to whom He assigned functions in the world.⁵⁹

§ 3. We have seen how this interest in divine power led to generalisation in religion. It led also to continued specialisation. The addition of an epithet to the name of a god or goddess to mark him or her as the special protector of a family was very old at Rome,⁶⁰ and continued in use: so we find Diana Valeriana, Planciana, and Cariciana, as also Bona dea Annianensis, Siluanus Caesariensis, Siluanus Pegasianus, Hercules Iulianus, Aelianus, Romanillianus, Gargillanus, and Frontonianna: we find, again, *meus*, *suus*, and *domesticus* as epithets of deities.⁶¹ In a measure the deity is assimilated to the person for whom his protection is sought: a Spanish lady, wishing to make a dedication to Isis in honour of her granddaughter, made it *Isidi puellari*.⁶² Men desired to appropriate divine power to themselves, to their towns or countries,⁶³

⁵⁷ *Epp.* 16 [48] = Migne, xxxiii. p. 82; *Saturn.* l. 17, 4 (on which cf. Cumont, *La théologie adulaire du paganisme romain*, *Mém. Acad. Inscr.* XII. (i. p. 464 f.), Lactant. Placid. *ad. Stat. Theb.* iv. 516.

⁵⁸ As that represented by a bas-relief at Wiesbaden, on which Hygieia and Asklepios are made to draw their healing power from Zeus (O. Jahn, *Die Heilgötter*, Taf. I., an offprint from *Annalen des Vereins für Nassauischen Alterthumskunde und Geschichte*, VI), and by the Eur. Δία of Aristides, who says (l. p. 6, Dindorf) *ὅς ἐστι καὶ θεὸς καὶ φύλα ἀνθρώπων καὶ δαίμων καὶ ἐννοεὶς καὶ ἡμετέρος θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ κόσμου πατρις* *ἡμετέρας ἰατρῆς* . . . and again (p. 9) καὶ Ἀνδράων ἐκθρόνου χρηστέλει δαίμων ἐκθερπείας βουλή καὶ Ἀεκατοίδι ἱέρω Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ἰσθμίου Δαίος γυνῆς καὶ τοῦ σπέρματος καὶ τῆς γῆς. A Clarian oracle, quoted by Lactant. *Inst. Div.* i. 7, describes the ordinary gods as angels and as a small portion of the Supreme Being (cf. Picard, *Éphèse et Clarus*, p. 716 ff. on the policy of Clarus).

⁵⁹ *Epist.* 89a, p. 127, 3, Bidez-Cumont, *In Christianos*, p. 179, 7, Neumann, *cf. Symmach. Rel.* iii. 8. Mr. C. T. Seltman draws my attention to the frequency of DEO SERAPIDI and of other Egyptian types on Julian's coinage, *Cohen*, viii. p. 42-73.

⁶⁰ Cf. W. F. Otto, *Rh. Mus.* lxi. (1906),

p. 449 ff., and note in the East *K.P.* ii. 203, Mr. Ἀποκαύσανος (with note, p. 104, for parallel *Κάπος, Τάριος, Φαρόνιος, Ἀλιανός*).

⁶¹ These instances are all to be found in Dessau's (text viii. iii. p. 516 ff.), except H. Frontonianus (*C.I.L.* xi. 4669). For *meus* cf. *Dea.* 4778, 4790, *suus* 4811, 9321, 9322, *domesticus* 4779 (Matres), 9321-2 (Sulemas), 3442 (Hercules), 3558-9, *Jahresh.* xii. (1909) *Beibl.* p. 172, n. 34, (Siluanus), *Dea.* 3703 (Fratina Roma), *C.I.L.* xiii. 8718 (Juppiter Optimus Maximus). An interesting example of this appropriation of a deity is the application of the epithet *Purpuria* to Juppiter Optimus Maximus in a dedication at Roma (*Dea.* 3040) by three women, one of whom, presumably the chief giver, was named *Purpuria* (for another explanation, which I find hard to accept, cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. p. 58).

⁶² *Dea.* 3254. So in a wallpainting from Ostia the children adore a child Artemis (Dieterich, *Kl. Schr.* p. 324, figures this: a sketch is given by Reinach, *Rep. peinture G. et R.* p. 235, 1).

⁶³ This, of course, is not new. As examples of it we may give *Le Bas*, 2209, *ὁ ἀπὸ πάσης Ἑλλάδος ἐκείνου ἑδίστο Ἀνδριανῶν θεμελίω τῆς ἀκρόπολεως*, *Ann. Epig.* 1913, 88, *Ζεύς Καρυστοπόρος*, *Dea.* 4500, *Dianae Aug.*

to their associations military or religious.⁶⁴ One application of this may be studied here, the application of the epithet *Augustus* or Σεβαστός to deities.

If man desired this divine power for himself, he must desire it also for the Emperor, on whose well-being depended in a measure that of every subject. Religious acts made with special intention for the benefit of the Emperor and of the imperial House are common. We have noted the use of the *taurobolium* on behalf of the Empire: we may note also its employment *pro salute et incolumitate domus divinae* and for the welfare of individual Emperors,⁶⁵ and also dedications to Mithras,⁶⁶ the consecration of a temple to Theandrites,⁶⁷ of shrines to Tyche,⁶⁸ of a *xoanon* and of images of various deities,⁶⁹ of the celebration of athletic games,⁷⁰ and of the building of baths⁷¹ and aqueducts⁷² with the same or a similar formula. There is in fact reason for suggesting that the custom of attaching *Augustus* to the name of a deity in Latin and Σεβαστός in Greek may have been intended to put the Emperor under the deity's special protection.⁷³ This view is confirmed by the fuller phraseology some-

Museionum, 3178, *Veneri matris Hyblensis*, and the Hercules Galitanus attested by Cohen,² n. p. 174, n. 814. We may note that on the coins of Ceraia Artemis appears as Tyche of the city, with the inscription ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΤΥΧΗ ΓΕΡΑΣΩΝ (*B.M.C. Arabia*, p. xxxi, 31 f. n. 1-9, Pl. V, 4-6), and that on an alliance coin of Mytilene and Perga in Paraphylia the Tyche of Mytilene is confronted by the Artemis, not the Tyche, of Perga (*B.M.C. Troas*, p. 215, n. 235, Pl. XLIII, 4; this Artemis is called in *I.G. Rom.* iii. 797, τῇ ἀρτεμίδει τῇ πόλεως ἡμῶν 'Aprilis', an inscription quoted by R. Pace in his useful study of the goddess in *Anatolian Studies*, p. 297 ff.); cf. *Le Bas*, 382 (a Cretan city allows Mylona πόλεως αὐτῆς περὶ τῆς πόλεως τοῦ καὶ ἀρτεμίδειας).

⁶⁴ Apart from the *di militares* treated by Von Domszowski, *Wied. Zeitschr.* xiv. (1895), p. 1 ff., we may note Iuppiter cohortalis (*Thes. Ling. Lat.* iii. p. 1540, 58 ff.; *Not.* 1920, p. 162, is decisive for his nature). For sodalities two instances may suffice, *Diss.* 3540, *Silvanus dionysiphorus* (cf. R. Peter, *Romher*, iv. p. 866, 15 ff.), 4105, *Matri magnae cognationis*.

⁶⁵ *Diss.* 4125-6, 4130-7.

⁶⁶ *C. R. Acad. Inscr.* 1919, p. 443.

⁶⁷ *Le Bas*, 2481.

⁶⁸ *ib.* 2562.

⁶⁹ *ib.* 2332; 2529 (Eretria), 2527 (Ias) 2528 a (unnamed).

⁷⁰ *ib.* 19, 1620 d; *I.G. Rom.* iv. 316; *ib.* *Le Bas* 1723.

⁷¹ *ib.* 1700, 2460.

⁷² *ib.* 2296, 2301.

⁷³ For the use of *Augustus* as an epithet abundant illustration is given in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* ii. p. 1393 ff. *Augustus* means 'sacrosanct,' and a dedication *Augustis Laribus* at Betriacum dating from 49 B.C. is known to us (*C.I.L.* v. 4687). In the great majority of cases, however, it must refer to the Emperor. *Herculi Augusto* cannot be separated from *Herculi Augusti* (*C.I.L.* iii. 3305, 5531, 10406), or *Mercurio Augusto* from *Mercurio Augusti* (*ib.* xii. 304); the genitive and the adjective must have meant the same thing (cf. also *Silvano Augusto* and *Silvano Flauorum* [*C.I.L.* vi. 644]. Otto, *Pauly-Wissowa*, vii. p. 36, l. 58 ff. remarks that the genitive makes the reference even clearer. The Greek equivalent *σεβαστός* seems not to be used as religious epithet before its application to the Emperor, as equivalent to *Augustus*. We find at Alabanda a status base inscribed Ἀρέλωνος Ἐλευθερίας Σεβαστάς (*Le Bas*, 549), near Smyrna Ἀρτεμίδος Σεβαστάς (*I.G. Rom.* iv. 1488) and Ἀνδραγαθῶν καὶ Σεπείδος Σεβαστάς (*ib.* 1490), at Cos Rhos is Σεβαστή (Paton-Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, 119, p. 147), as is perhaps Hephæstos at Mylasa (*Lebas*, 363); an Anaitis Sebaste at Philadelphus is probably postulated by τῇ μεγάλῃ Σεβαστῇ Ἀναιτῆς (*Le Bas*, 645). A Thasian inscription published by Ch. Picard (*Xenia*, Athens, 1912) mentions a priest of Ζεὺς Σεβαστῆς. Turning to the evidence of coins, we find at Tralles ΗΑΙΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ (*B.M.C. Lydia*, p. 340 f. n. 94-d, Pl. XXXV. 7), at Amaseia ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ (Imhoof-

times employed, as *Iuppiter omnipotens Augustus conservator Augustorum*,⁷⁴ *Mars Augustus conservator dominorum*,⁷⁵ *Mars Augustus protector domini nostri*,⁷⁶ *Marti Aug. conservatori* [Galer.] *Val[er]i Maximianus*,⁷⁷ and *Herc. Aug. conseruator d. n. imp.*⁷⁸ But, while explaining in this manner the use of the epithet in regard to personal gods and goddesses, we must give another account of its application to divinised abstractions, as *Pudicitia Augusta*, *Concordia Augusta*, *Annona Augusta*⁷⁹ or in Greek Ὀμόνοια Σεβαστή, Εὐφροσύνη Σεβαστή, Σεβαστή Ῥύβωσια, Σεβαστή Προόρασις, ΕΥΘΗΝΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ, ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΝΙΚΗ, ΕΛΠΙΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ.⁸⁰ They are clearly for the most part qualities real or supposed of the Emperor.⁸¹ Thus *Concordia Augustorum*⁸² appears side by side with *Concordia Augusta*⁸³ with reference to the harmonious agreement of Aurelius and Verus.

So, both in generalisation and in specialisation we see the effects of the popular interest in the power of the god rather than in the god himself.⁸⁴

Blumer, *Griechische Museen*, p. 62 = [580] where it is assigned to the time of Trajan, *Recueil des Mon.* i. p. 139, Pl. XVII. 38, Pl. V. 11; Linbott-Blumer, *op. cit.*, p. 72 = [598] interprets ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ as 1) Σεβαστή [the city] (=) Δημήτρα, though it may well be a nominative; 2) Creta, ΔΙΚΤΥΝΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ (Svoronos, *Numism. de la Crète*, i. p. 343, Pl. 33, 17), time of Domitian. This last gives all clear examples I could find of abstractions applied to a deity in no sense an abstraction (I.G. iii. 460, Ἱϋστία Σεβαστή looks like being the equivalent of *Salus Augusta*); we may perhaps conclude that it is much rarer in this sense than is *Augustus* in Latin.

Wisniewa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, p. 85, explains this use of *Augustus* as meaning 'dass man die betheuernde Gottheit in demselben Sinn verehrt, wie es der Kaiser in seinem Harnkultus tue.' His view that it spread from *Lares Augusti* and *Fides Augusta* hardly agrees with the dated texts, whose testimony is summarised by Otto, *Thes. l. L.* ii. p. 1393, l. 52 ff. (a most serviceable article).

⁷⁴ C.I.L. viii. 6353.

⁷⁵ Eph. Epig. vii. 759.

⁷⁶ C.I.L. viii. 896.

⁷⁷ *Deas*, 623.

⁷⁸ *ib.*, 632.

⁷⁹ From which CERES AVGVSTA can hardly be distinguished: cf. *B.M.C. Rom. Emp.* i. p. 183, 191, 332, 375, etc.; but at times, as Mr. Seftman informs me, this must mean 'Augusta who is Ceres,' the Empress identified with the deity. But it should be noted that the formula *AUG.* hardly occurs elsewhere till the third century; we may notice IVNO AVGVSTAE

for Mammæa as an instance of the longer form (Cohen², iv. p. 493, Mammæa, n. 33 ff.).

⁸⁰ C.I.L. 4332: *ib.* 3880: *Le Bos*, 764; Ramsay, *C.B.* ii. p. 637, *noct.* 530: *I.G. Rom.* iv. 1593: Svoronos, *Num. Crète*, i. p. 343, Pl. 33, 15: *B.M.C. Alexandria*, p. 36, n. 292, Pl. XXII.: *B.M.C. Iguvina*, p. xcxi: *B.M.C. Alexandria*, p. 36, n. 291, Pl. VIII.

⁸¹ So De Ruggiero, *Dis. Epig. di antich. Rom.* i. p. 927. Cf. H. Mattingly, *B.M.C. Rom. Emp.* i. p. lxxii f.: I doubt if his distinction between *Pax Augusta* as 'Imperial Peace,' and *Pax Augusti* as 'the Peaceableness of the reigning Emperor,' reasonable as it is in theory, held in practice. In any case we must allow for much vagueness of thought on these matters: perhaps many who used these epithets had no clear-cut views of their precise meaning. It should be noted that *Pax Augusta* was in the first century of our era very closely connected with the memory of Augustus himself. Claudius declined a statue to *Claudiana Pax Augusta* (H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, p. 24, where is printed *P. Lond.* 1912, l. 34 f.).

⁸² *As Deas*, 368, 434 and coins inscribed in Cohen², viii. p. 379 *etc.* Cf. ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΩΝ on the coins of Anastasius (*B.M.C. Pontus*, p. 7, n. 41).

⁸³ *As Deas*, 3786, Cohen², viii. p. 369 f.

⁸⁴ We may perhaps include among the results of this mental attitude the popularity of belief in *vera dea*, young and approachable incarnations of the old gods, invested with full vigour. *Ἐκαστὴ αἰὲς ἡ παλαιὰ γὰρ ἀνέγνωσε θεὰ (ἡ αἰὲς ἔγνωσε θεὰ) ἡ αἰὲς αἰὼς ἡ ἐν νεανίσκῳ ἡντινὲς ἐστίν, ἐστὶ δὲ ἀνέστη ἑστίασε, αὐτὴ ἡ Αθηναίη* in honour of Demetrius Poliorcetes (Cicero, *op. Athenae.*

§ 4. The common attitude towards the triumph of Christianity gives further evidence for this state of mind. The popular hagiographical stories of the conflict are couched in terms of the victory of a superior *dēnaimos*. There can, moreover, be no doubt that the demonstration by cures, exorcisms, and the like of the superior nature of this power was a most effective cause of conversions. The common people could argue that since Christ showed himself stronger than Artemis, Christ and not Artemis (since Christ would not be *primus inter pares*) must be worshipped, and readily learned to believe that those they had worshipped were *δαιμόνια* and inferior. This kind of change

vi. 233 ff.). If we cannot see Asklepios (except occasionally by special grace), we can behold Glycon, *εἰς Ἀσκληπείδην* (Lucian, *Alex.* 43, well discussed by O. Weinreich, *Neus Jahrb.* 1924, p. 145).

So the Ptolemies and the Attalids were honoured with the title of *εἰς Διόνυσον* (cf. H. von Prell, *Abh. Mitt.* XXVI. 1902, p. 187), Arsinoë (*Bull. Soc. Alex.* i. p. 40, n. 6) as *εἰς Ἀφροδίτην*, Cleopatra as *εἰς Ἑρμῆα* (*B.M.C. Galatia*, p. 188, n. 53-6, Pl. XIX. 3 [Antioch], *B.M.C. Phoenicia*, p. 53, n. 14, Pl. VII. 9 [Berytus], probably as *Ἀφροδίτη* (*P. Oxy.* 1628, 8, 1620, 7, 1644, 8, mentioning an *ἀγὼν Κλεοπάτρας Ἀφροδίτης*), Mithridates the Great as *εἰς Διόνυσον* (Posidon ap. Athen. V., p. 212 D, cf. Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 379), Antiochus I. of Commagene as *εἰς Τύχην* (*O.G.I.* 383, 61). Rome followed Hellenistic precedent. Not merely the triumphal Antonius (Plot. *Anton.* 66) but also Trajan (Prott, *l.c.* p. 183, *inscr.* 265), Hadrian (*Le Bas*, 1619), and Verus (*K.P.* ii. 125) were honoured as *εἰς Διόνυσον*, Caligula (*I.G. Rom.* iv. 145), Nero (*A.P.* ix. 178, etc.), Hadrian (*I.G. Rom.* iv. 1551), Caracalla and Geta jointly (*B.M.C. Ionia*, p. 89, n. 292 [Ephesus]), Septimius Severus (*J.H.S.* iv. p. 424) as *εἰς Ἥλίου*, Nero as *εἰς ἀγαθὴν βαίαν* (*B.M.C. Alexandria*, p. 26, n. 171, Pl. XXVI). On a contorniate figured by A. B. Cook, *Zona*, ii. p. 1128, fig. 936 (opp. M.) he is at one and the same time *εἰς ἀγαθὴν βαίαν*, *εἰς Ἀρέταν*, and *εἰς Διόνυσον*, as also Antinous (cf. Gausshinieta, *Fauly-Wiesner Suppl.* iii. p. 47); Antinous also as *εἰς Ἰαχχόν* (*B.M.C. Lycania*, p. 189, n. 159 [Tarsus]; cf. *B.M.C. Myasa*, p. 4, n. [Adramyteum]); Hadrian as *εἰς Ἀνταγορίδην* (*I.G. Rom.* iv. 341). Gaius Caesar (*I.G. Rom.* iv. 1064, 1094) and Germanicus (ib. 74, 75) receive the bare title of *εἰς θεόν*. Of the women of the Imperial house Julia was *εἰς Ἀφροδίτην* (ib. 319), as was also Drusilla (ib. 78 b, 145), and *εἰς Νερφέην* (ib. 464), Livia *εἰς ἀγαθὴν*

(ib. 180), Sabina (ib. 1492), Plantilla (*Le Bas*, 1703, and *B.M.C. Caria*, p. 12, 19 [Alinda]), and Julia Domna (*I.G. Rom.* iii. 856, iv. 851) *εἰς Ἥρα*, as earlier again Livia (ib. 319).

Accordingly when Horace speaks of Augustus as Mercury in human form (*Carm.* i. 2, 41, cf. J. P. Six, *Rev. Arch.* [1916], iv. p. 257 ff.) he is not uttering the casual flattery of a Court poet, but rather what would in the Greek East be a commonplace.

Such divinity was not the privilege of kings and princes alone. A benefactor of Teos is called *εἰς Ἀθήνας* (*Le Bas*, 108), a benefactor of Dorylaeum *Ἀκρίτας εἰς* (*I.G. Rom.* iv. 527, 2): cf. also two inscriptions quoted by Weinreich, *A.R.W.* xviii. p. 23, *Jahresh.* xiii. *Beibl.* p. 42 [Erythrae] *βασιλεὺς φιλοκράτης εἰς Ἀσκληπείδην βασιλεὺς μεγίστην* (unless he is a local deity recognised as a reincarnation of Asklepios), and *I.G.* V. i. 493 [Sparta] *Δαμοκράτης εἰς Ἑρμῆα*. But we must separate from these *εἰς θεόν* men to whom the title *εἰς θεόν* is applied after death; it means little if any more than 'lately departed' (as *Le Bas*, 793, 17238, *I.G. Rom.* iv. 453, and on the coins of Mytilene *ΑΕΣΒΩΝΑΞ ΗΡΩΣ ΝΕΟΣ*, *B.M.C. Treas.*, p. 190, n. 164, Pl. XXXIX. 5). Special, again, is the application of *εἰς ἀδούμεν* to the dead (cf. *Cl. Rev.* 1924, p. 108₁₆; Lashmax on the coin just quoted is represented in the character of Dionysos).

A proper of Nero as *ΝΕΟΣ ΗΑΙΟΣ*, it may here be noted that he was the first emperor to be represented in his lifetime on coinage with the radiate crown symbolical of the Sun (*B.M.C. Rom. Emp.* i. p. lxiv, sixxii, 217, and Pl. XLIII. 4, etc.), given to Augustus only after his death (ib. p. 128, 145, etc.), but to Ptolemy III. Euergetes I. of Egypt (Head, *H.N.*³ p. 853) and to Antiochus VI. of Syria (ib. p. 766) while alive. For its significance cf. *Stat. Theb.* i. 27 ff.

of belief is written large in hagiographical literature: a typical example may be taken from S. Gregory of Nyssa's life of S. Gregory Thaumaturgus.⁸⁵ The latter, on his way to Neocaesarea, entered with his attendants at evening a shrine where oracles were given. He scared away the demons of the shrine by invoking the Name of Christ, purified the air with the sign of the Cross, and kept vigil in prayer and hymnody. At dawn he set forth, and the priest of the shrine arrived to perform the usual sacrifice. The demons, however, appeared to him, and announced that they could not enter the shrine because of the man who had stayed in it; no further efforts by the priest to propitiate them were effective. He then pursued S. Gregory and threatened him with legal proceedings. S. Gregory, unterrified by threats, accepted a challenge made to him by the priest to summon the demons back into the shrine again. He proceeded to write Γρηγόριος τῷ Σαθάνῃ, εἰσέλθε on a strip of paper and handed it to the priest, who laid it on the altar and did sacrifice. Thereupon πάλιν ὁρᾷ ἄπερ εἴωρα τὸ πρότερον, πρὶν ἐξοικισθῆναι τοῦ εἰδωλείου τοὺς δαίμονας. τούτων δὲ γεγονότων, ἐννοίαν λαβεῖν τοῦ θείου εἰναι τινα παρὰ τῷ Γρηγόριῳ τὴν δύναμιν, δι' ἧς ἐφάρη τῶν δαιμόνων ἐπικρατίστερος.⁸⁶

II. DEDICATIONS IN THE FORM Ἐξ ἐπιταγῆς, etc.

Dedications are very commonly in the form κατ' ἐπιταγὴν, ἐξ ἐπιταγῆς, ἐξ ἐνκελεύσεως, κατὰ κέλυσιν, κατὰ πρόσταγμα, *inssu, imperio, ex imperio, ex praecepto* or (*Dess.* 4434) *nomine ipso dicante*. We find such addressed to SERAPIS and ISIS at Delos (*I.G.* XI. iv. 1230, -1, 1246, 1251, -3, -6, -7, 1262, 1299) and elsewhere (*I.G. Rom.* i. 106, *Le Bas*, 519, *I.G.* vii. 3414, *B.S.A.* xxiii. p. 96, n. 21, cf. O. Rubensohn, *Festschrift Vahlen*, p. 3 ff., *C.I.L.* viii. 25843), ZEUS KERAUNIOS (*I.G. Rom.* i. 1387), ZEUS (*Le Bas*, 669, *Körte G.G.A.* 1897, p. 409), ZEUS OURANIOS (*J.H.S.* xviii. p. 319, 32), ZEUS HYPSESTOS (*Le Bas*, 1099, cf. Θ. V. in *B.C.H.* xxxvii. p. 100, n. 8), ZEUS OF DOLICHE (*I.G. Rom.* i. 69, 737, *Dess.* 4306, 5284, *C.I.L.* xiii. 6383, *Ann. Epig.* 1920, n. 60), his namesakes in a Latin dress of HELIOPOLIS (*Dess.* 4289, 4290), OF DAMASCUS (*Dess.* 4325), SABAZIUS identified with him (*Not.* 1909, p. 22), the METEOROKLIMENE (*I.G. Rom.* i. 543), METEOR THEOS (*Ditt. Syll.*³ 1153, cf. *Dess.* 4119, 4139, for the Latin equivalent), APOLLO LAIRMENOS (*C.B.* i. p. 147, n. 37), ASKLEPIOS (*I.G. Rom.* i. 511), AGATHOS DAIMON (*I.G.* IX. iv. 171), AGATHE TYCHE (*ib.* 1273), a THEOS PATRIOS (*I.G. Rom.* i. 387), ASKLEPIOS (*I.G.* iv. 1491, 2, iii. 163, 888), ASKLEPIOS AND HYGIENA (*ib.* 181 a), POSEIDON (*ib.* 111); an UNNAMED LOCAL θεός (*C.B.* i. p. 148, n. 39, *Le Bas*, 684, *I.G. Rom.* i. 483) or θεά (*C.B.* i. p. 155, n. 59, *J.H.S.* iv. p. 388, n. 11, xvii. p. 270, n. 8, *Dussaud, Notes de mythologie Syrienne*, p. 110: neither θεός nor θεά mentioned in *C.B.* ii. p. 637, n. 529, *Le Bas*, 749); a conjunction of deities as ZEUS KERAUNIOS AND NYMPHS (*I.G. Rom.* i. 1387), THEOI

⁸⁵ Galland, *Bibliotheca veterum patrum*, iii. (1707) p. 449 = Migne *slvi.* p. 913 c— (ἔδωκε ἁγί is there p. 917 a).

⁸⁶ What has been here attempted is an account of this aspect of pagan belief in a particular period. The larger question

of the relation of such faith in divine power to mythology, the growth and decline of the latter, and the extent of its real penetration of popular circles requires and deserves a special study.

OLYMPIOS (S.E.G. i. 305), or a vague *theoi* or *oi theoi* (C.I.G. 3439, C.B. i. p. 337, n. 172); and, further, in the West, JUPITER (C.I.L. vi. 30975), APOLLO SALUTIFER (Ann. Epig. 1920, n. 37), DOMINUS SILVANUS (Dess. 3534), VOLCANUS (ib. 3302), BONUS EUENTUS (ib. 3753), FORTUNA VERUNIENSIS (ib. 3717 a), OPS (ib. 3330), SOL (ib. 4335), INVICTUS (ib. 4142 a), CAELESTIS (ib. 4434), GLYCON (ib. 4079), MYTHRAS (C.I.L. iii. 5195), BELLONA (ib. xiii. 3637, Dess. 3807: coupled with Mars ib. 3808); and such local deities as in Spain, ENDOVELLICUS (ib. 4513), and NETO (ib. 4422), in Gaul MARS AND ROSMERTA (C.I.L. xiii. 4193), TARACNOCUS (Dess. 4624), CAIARUS (ib. 4672), HARMOGIUS (ib. 4568), LUTINUS (ib. 4679), in Britain, BRIGANTIA (ib. 4718), and in Germany, ALATHIVA (ib. 4739), IDBAN GAHIA (ib. 4746), SUNCXALIA (ib. 4754), MATRONAE AFTHAE (ib. 4798), MATRONAE HAMAUTHAE (ib. 4805), and MATRONAE VALLABSETHIAE (ib. 4808, 4810).

Such commands would in some cases be given in oracles,⁸⁷ in others in dreams: the latter is frequently attested by such phrases as *ex visu*, *visu monitus*, *κατ' ὄναρ*, *κατ' ὄνειρον*,⁸⁸ or *κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν ὄνειρον*,⁸⁹ *noctis obscurae non obscuris imperiis*,⁹⁰ when the element of command is accentuated. Pausanias tells us that Isis commanded in sleep those she wished to have visit her shrine at Tithorea, as did the gods of the underworld in the cities on the Maeander.⁹¹ Elsewhere this conception of divine command and human obedience is stressed: *nam cum coeperis deo servire, tum magis senties fructum tuae libertatis*, are words addressed to Lucius.⁹²

⁸⁷ So *ex oraculo* in Dess. 3982-4, according to interpretation of oracles of Claris Apollinis (ib. 3230 a, b, also K.P. i. 16, cf. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros*, p. 716 ff.), *κατανοήσαντες κατὰ χροσπίαν* in B.C.H. vii. 276 (it may be noted that *κατανοήσαντες* implies that the woman was regarded as the god's consort; *κατανοή* is not a synonym of *κατα*).

⁸⁸ Helios Apollo Laimeus, C.B. i. p. 147, n. 38, Hermes, ib. p. 181, n. 68, Parthenos, Inscr. Oris. Pont. iv. 85; Thes. Hagne, Stud. Pont. iii. p. 74, n. 65, *ἡ θεὸς* (probably the rider-god) S.E.G. ii. 405, and in Latin texts Jupiter, Dess. 5905, Castor, ib. 3392, Pluto and Proserpine, ib. 3972, Silvanus, ib. 3523, Nemesis, ib. 3798, Fatidivum, ib. 3757, Sol, ib. 3942, Mithras, ib. 4203, Isis and Serapis, ib. 4375, Virtus Bellona, ib. 3803, Mars, Jahresh. xii. (1900) Beibl. p. 192, n. 35, Caelestis, Eph. Epig. ix. 436, Iuppiter Dolichenus, Dess. 4309, Iuppiter Heliopolitana, ib. 4286, Iuppiter Sabazius, ib. 6277, Yezor, ib. 4507.

On commands given to sick people sleeping in temples to be cured, cf. Dehnbach, *De incubatione*. Apparitions of deities in sleep would be the commonest form of revelation (cf. Le Bas, 186 [three apparitions of the Theomorphoi] and on apparitions of Asclepius, Origen, *In Cels.* iii. 24); we may also note *P. Oxy.* 1581, 102 ff. 138, where the writer's mother is said to have

seen with waking eyes what he simultaneously saw in a dream. Belief in divine epiphanies was widespread: cf. Max. Tyr. ix. 7 (claiming to have seen Dionysus, Asclepius, Herakles), Le Bas, 137, 4 (Ephesian Artemis), Inscr. Oris. Pont. (Latyschov), i. 184 (the *theotides* of the Chersonese), and in general Pfister, *Panly. Wissena Suppl.* iv. p. 277 ff.

⁸⁹ A dedication at Sinopis to the *theoi Theoi kai dikaios* (I.G. Rois. i. 568).

⁹⁰ Apul. Met. xi. 22, cf. 29, *et ecce post paululum tempus insipientis et nequequamque infirmitas imperiis deum rursus interpellat et rogar tertium quoque solutum sustinere*, Julian, *Caesares*, p. 330 c, *καὶ ἐπειδὴ* (Mithras).

⁹¹ x. 32, 13; cf. Juv. vi. 528, *et candida iussit Io ibi ad Aegypti finem . . . 530, credit enim ipsius dominus se uoce moneri*.

⁹² Met. xi. 15; cf. *P. Oxy.* 1381, 205, *ἰσὺ δὲ θεοεισάγους εἰς αὐτὴν* [Asclepius-Imouthas] *ἐνθαυ ἐπαλλάγους*, Le Bas, 1890, *ἀσκληπιὸς ἐνθαυ εἰσάγους καὶ ἐπαλλάγους ἐνθαυ εἰσάγους* [for *εἰσάγους* cf. n. 93], *Somnium Nectanebi* (Erat. frag. pap. p. 40), iii. 5, *καὶ ἡ θεὸς* (cf. Ares) *προεβόησαντες ἐνθαυ εἰσάγους*. Men in *δουλοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ* P. Lond. W. col. ii. 32, P. Lond. 121 i. 815 W. = 746 K., B.C.H. xxi. p. 60, also I.G. Rois. i. 101, *ἐνθαυ εἰσάγους ἐνθαυ εἰσάγους* (for the wider sense of the word cf. H. Hepding, *Panly. Wissena*, viii. p. 4467, and in connexion with Serapis, Ramney, C.B. i. p. 147).

We may with reason connect these dedications 'in accordance with the command of . . .' with that conception of the gods as absolute rulers which becomes prominent in Hellenistic times and finds expression in such titles as *κύριος*,⁹² *δεσπότης*,⁹³ *τέταρτος*.⁹⁴ The gods were assimilated to the absolute monarchs of the East; ⁹⁵ the absolute king, god on earth, was under the special protection of the absolute king of heaven, from whom he might be thought to derive his authority.⁹⁷ Further, the gods came to be invested with astral powers and the omnipotence of an unbending fate thereby fixed. Attis wears the starry cap, while a fine bronze of Jupiter Heliopolitanus bears the seven planets around its base: the latter are represented on the mantle of Mithras on a bas-relief at Ostia and on a gem now at Florence.⁹⁸ These connections are independent of direct identifications, as Helios-Serapis, Isis-Selene, Dea Syria-Libra. Jupiter Dolichenus is called *conservator totius poli*, as Jupiter optimus maximus is *fatorum arbiter*, Belus *ἰδρυτήρ τῶχης*.⁹⁹ Lucius, in an address to Isis, says *tibi respondent sidera, redeunt tempora, gaudent numina, serviant elementa*.¹⁰⁰ Herein the religious instinct could be reinforced by philosophy. The Stoics taught that it was good to obey the decrees of Fate

⁹² Use of Zeus in Syria, Marnas, Helios, the Ephesian Artemis, Isis, Serapis, the Dea Syria, etc. (cf. Williger, *Pauly-Wissowa*, xii. p. 176 ff.). A Greek use is in the cult of Poseidon at Troezen (Pausan. ii. 30, 6).

⁹³ So Helios (*Le Bas*, 2393, cf. *P. Parthey*, i. 297), Glykon (Lucian, *Alca*, 43): this title, like *κύριος*, occurs in genuine Greek contexts as a predicate, not it seems as a fixed cult epithet (Williger, *loc. cit.* p. 180, 30 ff.).

⁹⁴ So Men constantly (as *Le Bas*, 668, 669), Attis (in the dedications *Attidi Meno tyrannus*, as *Dess.* 4146, 4148): cf. Herodas, v. 77, *αὐτὸς τῆς βασιλείας*, with H. J. Rose's notes, *C.Q.* 1923, p. 32 f., *P. Parthey*, ii. 88, *κύριος κύριον*, and Proumduaz, *Recherch.* v. p. 1455 ff.

⁹⁵ Cf. *K.P.* ii. 204, *Μέγας Τελεστής καὶ Μὴ Αεθίων* . . . *Δόμος καὶ ναὸς βασιλευσάντων* (apparently the village was temple property). Jupiter Dolichenus in Imperial times was made to wear the dress of a Roman Emperor as earlier of an Oriental king (Cumont, *Études Syriennes*, p. 188, *Syria*, i. p. 183 ff., *ib.* p. 185, on similar representations of Iahribe, Hades and Men). For the use of a Royal Court as an analogy for heaven cf. [Aristot.] *Περὶ κόσμου*, p. 398 a, 11 ff. (comparison of God with Xerxes: parallels are given by W. Capelle, *Neue Jahrb.* 1905, p. 559).

Cybele and Bellona had *hastiferi, forovipon*, probably originally the bodyguard of the priest-king in processions (cf. Cumont, *C.R. Acad. Ins.* 1918, p. 317 ff.); Apollo Archagates at Hierapolis in Phrygia had *εὐνομήδης* (D. G. Hogarth, *Journ. Phil.*

xix. p. 80, n. 2, 1, 5 = *Bonsay, C.B.* i. p. 115, n. 19 = Judeich, *Altortümer von Hierapolis* [*Jahrb. Exp. H.* iv.] p. 119, n. 133), who doubtless carried standards in processions in his honour (so Hogarth, Judeich). Such an institution makes *militia sacra* (on which cf. Reitzenstein, *Hell. Mysterienreligionen*, p. 71 ff.) much more real. It should be noted that this *sempiterna* reverence of the Hellenistic East has affected even dedications to the native deities of the West.

⁹⁶ Cf. earlier Pind., *P.* iii. 85, Callim. *H.* i. 70, and in the Hellenistic age above all the Nemroud-Dagh reliefs, showing Antiochus I. of Commagene, *καὶ Τέτα*, being greeted in friendly fashion by Mithras, by Zeus Oromasdes, and by Herakles (Reinach, *Rép. Rel.* i. p. 105; cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. p. 742 ff.). Rostovtzeff interprets a Karagodeushakh *θῆτον* and other objects as showing Mithras conferring divine right on a monarch (*Rev. Et. gr.* 1910, p. 476, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, p. 104 ff.¹⁰⁰, and E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. xxxix). Certainly divine right is at home in Imperial Mithraism: cf. Cumont, *T.M.* i. p. 328, ii. p. 462, 13, *C.I.L.* iii. 4413.

⁹⁷ Sallustius, iv. cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. p. 742; Cumont, *Syria*, ii. p. 40 ff.: *T.M.* ii. p. 340, n. 82, p. 450, n. 10, fig. 403. Cf. for the association of the zodiac with Mithras, *T.M.* ii. p. 393, n. 73, with the Mithraic Kronos, *ib.* p. 325, n. 220, with Bacchus, *Current. Dar.-Sagl.* v. p. 1057.

⁹⁸ *Dess.* 4316; *ib.* 2998; *ib.* 4333.

¹⁰⁰ *Apul. Met.* xi. 25.

gladly rather than under constraint: we read in the often-quoted prayer of Cleanthes (fr. 527, Von Arnim)—

ἄγου δέ μ' ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ σὺ γ' ἡ Πεπρωμένη
ὅποι ποθ' ὑμῖν εἰμι διατεταγμένος.
ὥς ἔφομαι γ' ἄσκνος· ἦν δέ γε μὴ θέλω,
κακὸς γενόμενος, οὐδὲν ἥττον ἔφομαι.

This obedience could pass into enthusiastic devotion: Valens Vettius, in a passage to which M. Cumont has drawn attention, says (*Anthol.* ix. 11, p. 355, 20, Kroll) πάσης δὲ ματαίας ἐλπίδος καὶ φροντίδος ἀπαλλαγείς τὸν τῆς εἰμαρμένης νόμον διεφύλαξα; elsewhere he applies to this the metaphor of *militia sacra*.¹⁰¹

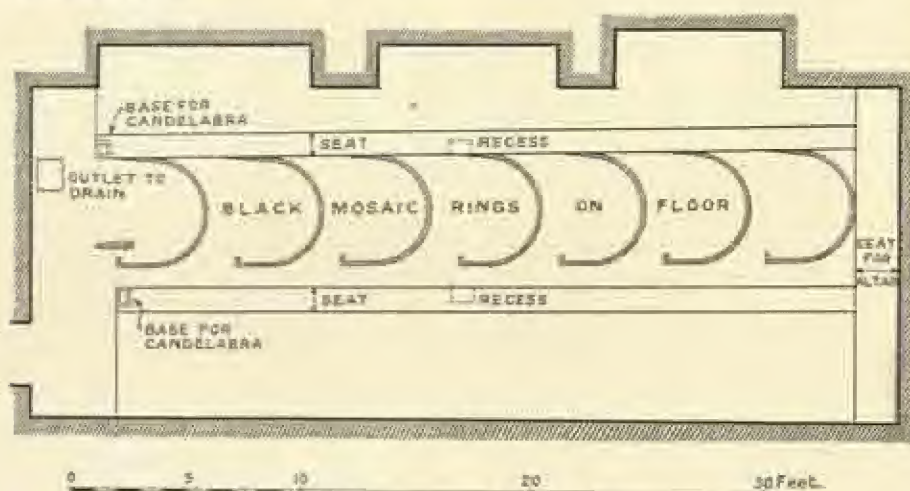


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF MITHRAEUM AT OSTIA.

III. MITHRAIC INITIATION

It is commonly recognised that the seven grades through which a Mithraic initiate passed, as *corax*, *cryptus*, *miles*, *leo*, *Perses*, *heliodromus*, *pater* successively, corresponded to the soul's passage after death through the seven planetary spheres, on passing each of which it was believed to lose a vice and gain a virtue.¹⁰² With this view the symbolism of Mithraic art

¹⁰¹ v. 2, p. 226, 27, *εὐπειθέως τῇ εἰμαρμένῃ*, vii. 3, p. 271, 28, *ποτασθέντα τοῖς αἰμαῖν γενεαῖς*, both quoted by Cumont. For *εὐπειθέως* as a Stoic word cf. Schenkl's index to his Epictetus, p. 680 b, s.v., also Epict. iii. 24, 24, *εὐπειθὴ τῇ δυνάμει καὶ βίῃ τῶν αἰσθητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν*. For *εὐπειθὴ* cf. also Kailsh, Epigr. 650, 12 (of the blessed dead contrasted with the unblest dead), *ἔτι εὐπειθὴς εἰς εἰμῶν λαχόντες* *ἐπεὶ ἡμεῖς αὖτε* says the departed man, now like the Dioscuri (ll. 3): the *αἰσθητῶν* would normally be Hermes (through Mithras also

performed this function, and was in consequence identified with Hermes, cf. Cumont, *Mithras de Mithra*, p. 146, *ib. n. 2*).

¹⁰² O. Cumont, *Mithraea*, p. 157; on the passage after death, p. 145, cf. also, Bousset, *A.R.W.* iv. p. 136 ff., 229 ff., Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, p. 177 ff.; for the belief as held by Gnostics, Bousset, *Paul-Wissens*, vii. p. 1522, as in the *Oracula Chaldaica*, Kroll, *De oraculis Chaldaicis* (*Bresl. phil. Abh.* VII. i.), p. 63, as in Hermetism, *Corp. Herm.* i. 25, cf. iv. 8.

agrees.¹⁰³ I wish to suggest that initiation involved rebirth as a little child, and that the seven grades perhaps then corresponded to the seven ages of man, each thought to be under the protection of a planet.¹⁰⁴ Now Porphyry tells us that initiation in Mithraism symbolised *τῆς εἰς κάτω καθόδου τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ πάλιν ἀνοδῶν*; the initiate was supposed to die and to be reborn.¹⁰⁵ If reborn, he should naturally be reborn as a little child. For this assumption we have an analogy in the account Salustius gives of the ceremonial commemoration of Attis. After sorrow and the cutting of the tree and fasting follows *γάλακτος τροφή ὡς περ ἀναγεννωμένων*.¹⁰⁶ The faithful are in a mystic sense reborn as babes, and must therefore be fed on milk: it should, however, be remembered, that milk and honey are the food of the gods and of the blessed.¹⁰⁷ Again, Nonnus tells us that Dionysus was as a small child initiated in his mysteries:¹⁰⁸ his worshippers may well have been supposed to do likewise. If he was Βάλεχος, they were Βαλχοι: if they were μέσται,

¹⁰³ Origen, *In Coloss.*, vi. 22 (xix. p. 330 ff. Lammertsch), tells us of ladders composed of seven metals corresponding to the seven planets and symbolical of the soul's journey, cf. Kroll *op. cit.* p. 63 (Claddia *ἐπτάμετα βαθμί*). [Ladders, possibly Mithraic, have been found in Roman graves in the Rhineland, Camont, *T.M.* ii. p. 325. The ladder is commonly associated with after-life: it is associated with Hades, Serapis, and the griffin in a bas-relief at Myra published by Benndorf, *Reisen in Kleinien*, ii. p. 42, fig. 31 (= Reinach, *Rég. Rel.* ii. p. 107, 4), with death in Egypt (cf. Camont, *Rev. Arch.* 1917, v. p. 101), buried with the dead in Nepal and in Russia (J. G. Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, ii. p. 57: in Russia a seven-runged ladder is used), used as a religious symbol in spotopaki plaques (O. Jahn, *Ber. Sachs. Ges. Wiss.* 1855, *Der böse Blick*, Taf. v. 2): a ladder from earth to heaven occurs in *Passio S. Perpetuae*, iv. § 4, p. 67, 14, Gebhardt; though 70 steps to hell in *Vie de Saint Eusebe*, Mercati *l.c.* p. 70, *et dati sunt ei VII angeli qui portauerunt eum in infernum super LXX gradus*. Doctor Faustus saw a ladder reaching from hell to heaven, *Early English Prose Romances*,² ed. W. J. Thoma, (ii, p. 194.) The seven half-circles in the mosaic floor of the chief Ostian Mithraeum (shown in Fig. 1 from a drawing kindly made for me by Mr. S. Walsh, Roma Scholar in Architecture) are undoubtedly connected with the seven planets (cf. *T.M.* i. p. 63), possibly also with the seven grades: were they the places where stood or knelt those being admitted to the various grades? Planetary symbolism appears again in the seven *ostentia* of the *ex-voto scaturae* from

of Tamestus Argentius (*T.M.* ii. p. 354, n. 1), in the seven altars in bas-reliefs (as *T.M.* ii. p. 277, n. 135, fig. 20), the seven candles burning before the sacred relief in the Mithraeum on the Esquilinae (ib. p. 200, n. 15), etc.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Boll, *Neus Jahrb.* 1913, p. 112 ff., 121, also *P. Par.* 835 ff.

¹⁰⁵ *De antro sympharum*, ch. vi.; cf. *vita Commodi*, 9, and J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² xi. p. 277; ib. p. 225 ff., *Belief in Immortality*, i. p. 254, on mimic deaths (commonly followed by symbolic resurrection as animal, *G.B.*² xi. p. 270: can we compare *T.M.* ii. p. 8, and the bas-relief from Konjica (*Mystères*, p. 164, fig. 16), showing the mummifying of the *corvus* and the *leo*?

¹⁰⁶ *Hopl. τῶν καὶ εὐφραν.* iv. On rebirth cf. Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, p. 159 ff.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Usener, *Kl. Schr.* iv. p. 298 ff., Dieterich, *op. cit.* p. 171, 199, R. Kittel, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen und das alte Testament* (1924), p. 12 f. Among the Akikuya in East Africa each boy when ritually reborn 'lives on milk for some days afterwards' (A. C. Hollis *op. Golden Bough*, xi. p. 262). A curious magical parallel can be quoted for rebirth as a little child. In the Orphic *Lithica*, 366 ff., the prophetic *αἰθερ* *εὐσπέρης* which is being treated for me (cf. *supra* *Introd.* n. 6) is washed in water from a spring, and then 'nurtured in clean raiment like a babe (l. 370, *εὐσπέρης* *ὡς βρέφος ἀσθένους*): cf. S. Eitrem, *Lina Loukar*, p. 6.

¹⁰⁸ *Dionysiacs*, ix. 111 ff.: the infant Dionysus in a cult scene is perhaps correctly recognised on an Attic vase reproduced by E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, iii. Abb. 571, cf. ii. p. 572.

he was *μύστης*. To these arguments from analogies we can now perhaps add something more definite. In a Mithraeum recently discovered at Capua and of great interest by reason of its remarkable decorations are certain ill-preserved stuccos on the vertical walls of the *podia* giving scenes of initiation. In them we see the initiate, entirely nude, standing, kneeling, and prostrated: in one at least he appears to be represented as a child, not as a man.¹⁰⁹ These figures can only be seen by such light as one takes into the Mithraeum, and we must await a publication and good photographs before drawing definite conclusions.

IV. THE HONOURED OF HECATE

The participle *τιμηθείς* is used in a remarkable manner in three inscriptions found in Phrygia:

Le Bas, 805 (Cotiaecum) . . . Τρόφιμος καὶ Ἀφρη Δημοσθένη τὸν ἱαντῶν υἱὸν τειρηθέντα ὑπὸ Σωτείρης Ἐκάτης κατέκρωσαν.

K.P. ii. n. 267, p. 141 (Cotiaecum), Τρόφιμος καὶ Σέκτος τὸν πατέρα Τρόφιμον καὶ τὴν μητέρα Ἀμμιον ἔτι ζῶσαν ἀπειρώσαν τιμηθέντας ὑπὸ Σωτείρης Ἐκάτης.

J.H.S. iv. p. 419 l. n. 33 (Otonrak) col. i. 17, ἀρχιερέα Ἐπιτύχχανον τιμηθέντα ὑπὸ θεῶν ἀθανάτων καθιέρωσαν αὐτὸν Διογᾶς καὶ Ἐπιτύχχανος . . . col. ii. l. ἀθάνατος Ἐπιτύχχανος τιμηθείς ὑπὸ Ἐκάτης πρώτης, δεύτερου ὑπὸ Μάνου Δάου Ἡλιοδρόμου Διὸς τρίτου Φοῖβου Ἀρχηγέτου χρησιμοδότου [dated 314 A.D.].¹¹⁰

Its sense must probably be 'having received special grace from. . .'.¹¹¹ The grace might be the reception of prophetic dreams, or other supernatural gifts. The notion of such peculiar personal *τιμή* would not perhaps have seemed strange to a Phrygian familiar with communities of *Hieroi* and *Hierai* living in direct dependence on the god's bidding.¹¹² Like the *religiosi* of Cybele and of Isis,¹¹³ the *sacerati* of Mithras and of Cybele,¹¹⁴ the *fanatici* of Bellona,¹¹⁵ the *hierodouloi* of Serapis,¹¹⁶ and (to accept the most probable interpretation) the *katechoi* of Serapis at Alexandria and of Zeus Baetocaeceus at Baetocaece.¹¹⁷

¹⁰⁹ Thanks to the kindness of Prof. A. Minto I visited this find on April 10th, 1924. A brief description, with important observations, has been published by Gumont, *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1924, p. 113 ff.

¹¹⁰ The force of *κατέκρωσαν* is that the tomb is put under the deity's protection, cf. Mordtmann, *Abh. Mitt.* x. p. 17.

¹¹¹ The subjects of these texts are not kings or heroes (for their *τιμή* from the gods of Horn, *Il.* i. 605, xi. 43, *Hes. Theog.* 81 etc.), and their *τιμή* cannot well be as vague as that implied in an inscription at Philae (Kabel, *Epigr. gr.* 980) φίλοι βροταῖοι καὶ θεῶν τιμωμένοι and in a Clarian temple ep. *K.P.* i. p. 17, addressing the men of Trocetta καὶ τιμημένοι Ἑρμῇ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι Κροελῶν:

nor, again, can *τιμωμένοι* (or here mean 'buried at the expense of the temple funds of . . .'), as in *K.P.* i. n. 192, p. 89 (τὰς *τίμας* of *θεοὶ ἀνέκωσαν*).

¹¹² Cf. Ramsay, *C.B.* i. p. 135, 147.

¹¹³ *Dess.* 4167-4170; *Apul. Met.* xi. 13, 16; cf. the Hermotic use in (*Apul.*) *Ascl.* 22.

¹¹⁴ *Dess.* 4210-1, 4262, 4142; cf. the *sacerdotes* of Coelestia, *ib.* 4438.

¹¹⁵ *Dess.* 4161-2; *Juv.* iv. 123.

¹¹⁶ Ramsay, *C.B.* i. p. 147.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Ganschiniotz, *Pauly-Wissowa*, x. p. 2534. *C.I.G.* 3163, *P. Lond.* 44 (l. p. 34.18) afford strong evidence for their religious character, though the term *κατέκωσαν* clearly covered a category of persons who had taken refuge in the temple as an asylum,

The cult of Hecate was strong in Asia Minor under the Empire: a joint dedication at Stratonicea to Hecate and Zeus Panamaros mentions ἀγάματα ἐπιφανεστάτας παρέχοντα τῆς θείας δυνάμεως ὑπεράς,¹¹⁸ and at Lagina she is called ἐπιφανεστάτη.¹¹⁹

For the belief in the special grace of particular individuals a parallel can be quoted from the cult of the *dea caelestis*. A priest of hers at Tarraco is described in his epitaph by the phrase, *incomparabili religionis viua*.¹²⁰

A. D. NOCK.

F. von Woss, *Das Asylwesen Ägyptens in der Ptolemäerzeit* (= *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung*, v. 1923, p. 146 ff., 237 ff.), has urged with force that the term is used purely in the latter sense. But there remain the astrological texts, treated by W. Kroll, *Klio*, xviii. p. 219 f.; these are quite inconsistent with such an explanation, and *εὐρεχει* in these means 'possessed' (cf. also H. I. Bell, *Journ. Ep. Arch.* x. p. 154). The *εὐρεχει* at Bastocaeae are clearly religious (Ditt. *O.G.I.* 282, 28, interprets

ε. as 'tenants,' but cf. Steph. *Thes.* iv. p. 1369 n, and the use of *εὐρεχει* in Isid. *De orig.* iii. 9, p. 110, Parthey); it may be noted that the high priest was supposed to be directly appointed by the god (the inscription, l. 12), and that the shrine was famous for special manifestations of divine power (l. 4).

¹¹⁸ *Le Bas*, 519, 6; cf. Waddington's note.

¹¹⁹ Ditt. *O.G.I.* 441, 55.

¹²⁰ *Diss.* 4436.

THE PROGRESS OF GREEK EPIGRAPHY, 1923-1924

IN the following Bibliography an attempt is made briefly to summarise the progress made during the years 1923 and 1924 in our knowledge of Greek inscriptions; alike by the addition of new epigraphical texts to those already known and by the more adequate restoration or interpretation of documents previously discovered. I follow once again the order adopted in my last Bibliography, namely, that of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* so far as Europe is concerned and, beyond its boundaries, that of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*.

I. GENERAL

The ever-increasing number of epigraphical books and articles calls for, and gives additional value to, the various bibliographies which aim at rendering them more generally useful to students. In addition to my own summary for 1921-1922 in this *Journal*¹ and that which dealt separately for the same period with the Greek inscriptions found in Egypt,² I may specially mention the 'Bulletin Bibliographique' of M. Lacroix³ for 1919-1922 and the very full and valuable survey⁴ by P. Roussel of the epigraphical contents of the periodicals bearing the date 1921. The pertinent sections of the 'Revue des Revues' appended to the *Revue de Philologie*⁵ should also be noted, as well as P. Kretschmer's 'Literaturbericht' for 1919 and 1920, which is restricted to questions of philological interest.⁶ E. Ziebarth has added to his review of the epigraphical literature of 1894-1919 a chapter⁷ dealing with Delos, and it is much to be regretted that the same scholar cannot complete his important survey. The elaborate 'Chroniques des Fouilles' for the years 1922 and 1923 published in the *B.C.H.*⁸ contain some references to epigraphical discoveries, the most important of which are noted in the following pages. In the jubilee volume of the *Rivista di Filologia* U. Pedrotti briefly summarises⁹ the nine articles on Greek epigraphy contained in the first fifty volumes of that periodical, while a section of the index to the volumes for 1901-1920 of the *Bollettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale* is devoted to the same subject.¹⁰ R. Dussaud's bibliography¹¹ of the works of Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, whose death in 1923 robbed France and the world of one of its most distinguished Orientalists, contains a list of his contributions to epigraphical studies, mostly connected with Syria and the neighbouring lands.

A notable new departure in this field is the publication of the *Supple-*

¹ xliii. 11 ff.

² *J.E.A.*, ix. 235 ff.

³ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxxv. 237 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.* 426 ff.

⁵ xlv. 113 ff., xlvii. 156 ff.

⁶ *Glossa*, xii. 179 ff.

⁷ *Bursians Jahresbericht*, cxviii. 60 ff.

⁸ xlv. 477 ff., xlvii. 498 ff.

⁹ l. 175 ff.

¹⁰ xlix. 64 ff.

¹¹ *Syria*, iv. 140 ff., esp. 155 ff.

mentum Epigraphicum Graecum,¹² which should meet a long-felt want and prove invaluable to students of every aspect of ancient Greek life and language. This periodical, written in Latin, is due to the initiative and energy of a Dutch scholar, J. J. E. Hondius, with whom is associated an international editorial committee containing such well-known experts as P. Roussel of Strassburg and E. Ziebarth of Hamburg. Its chief aim is to present yearly, arranged in geographical order, the texts of all Greek inscriptions published in the course of the preceding year, together with the necessary particulars of provenance, etc., and a brief commentary where required, as well as to record all important corrections and restorations proposed in texts already known. In point of fact, it achieves even more than this, for it contains a few unpublished inscriptions and also, thanks largely to the co-operation of A. Wilhelm, F. Hiller von Gaertringen, W. Crönert and others, it frequently provides texts which show marked improvements upon those of the original editors. It is earnestly to be hoped that the new venture will receive sufficient support to guarantee its continuance. The first volume,¹³ comprising the inscriptions of 1922, contains 589 items; of the second volume only the first fascicule had appeared before the close of 1924.

Of the progress made by the *Inscriptiones Graecae* I shall speak under Attica. A further memorable event has been the completion of the third edition of Dittenberger's *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* by the issue of the second part of Vol. IV, a remarkable monument of the unremitting labours of F. Hiller von Gaertringen.¹⁴ It contains, under the title 'Exempla sermonis Graeci,' the index to the collection (save that of proper names, which formed the first part of the volume), occupying 454 closely-printed pages, and affording an inexhaustible mine for students of the Greek language as used in epigraphical documents. Wisely, in my judgment, no attempt has been made, as in the previous editions, to subdivide the index under heads, e.g. *res sacrae*, *res publicae*, and so on. Amid all these exacting labours, F. von Hiller has found leisure to contribute to the third edition of Gericke and Norden's *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft* a delightful section (i. 9) dealing with Greek Epigraphy—the preparation for and methods of its study, the origin and early development of the Greek script, the main classes of inscriptions viewed chronologically, the principal achievements of modern scholarship in this field, the gaps which still wait to be filled, and the value of inscriptions for the investigation of Greek history, language and culture.

A very useful task has been carried out by E. Preuner,¹⁵ who has collected much epigraphical material from almost forgotten Greek periodicals, notably the *Ἐφημερίς τῶν Φιλομαθῶν* (1852-81) and *Πανόπωρα* (1850-72), and, by arranging it according to the volumes of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* to which it is pertinent, has made it easy of reference. Our sense of loss in the death, already alluded to, of Ch. Clermont-Ganneau is tempered—or rather, it would

¹² Leyden (Sijthoff); hereinafter denoted by *S.E.G.*

¹³ Cf. *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxvi. 191 f., *Rev. Arch.* xix. (1924), 426, *Boll. St. class.* xxxi.

¹⁴ f., *Journ. d. Savants*, 1924, 128.

¹⁵ Leipzig (S. Hirzel), 1924.

¹⁶ *Arch. Mit.* xvi. 1 ff.

be truer to say, is accentuated—by the appearance of a fresh volume of his *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*,¹⁵ which attests anew the fruitful activity of that scholar in the field of Greco-Oriental studies.

Students of Christian archaeology will welcome the appearance of a third edition of C. M. Kaufmann's handbook,¹⁷ which, however, despite its acknowledged value, is still open, in the opinion of some competent judges, to criticism.¹⁸ The fourth edition of Deissmann's *Licht vom Osten*¹⁹ also contains a considerable epigraphical element, and discusses carefully many of the inscriptions which throw light upon the New Testament and the early Christian society: the author had previously set forth in a lecture some of the interesting results at which he had arrived.²⁰

Dialectological studies, based largely or wholly on inscriptions, have received several noteworthy accessions during the period under review. The second and third volumes of F. Bechtel's great work on the Greek dialects have appeared, the former²¹ dealing with the western dialects and the latter²² with Ionic. Of even greater importance from the purely epigraphical point of view is E. Schwyzler's new edition of Cauer's famous *Delectus* under the title *Dialectorum Graecorum Exempla Epigraphica Potiora*.²³ This constitutes, to all intents and purposes, a wholly new work, which will prove of the utmost value to all who desire a rich and up-to-date selection from the vast mass of the extant dialect-inscriptions, edited by a recognised authority with constant aid from A. Wilhelm. The selected texts number 834, and there are frequent collections of words and phrases culled from texts not printed in full. In four appendices the editor adds (i) fifteen examples of earlier Attic inscriptions, (ii) eight of common or colloquial Greek, (iii) fifteen passages from ancient authors dealing with the dialects of the Greeks and neighbour races, and (iv) eight specimens of barbarian languages. I. A. Heikel²⁴ has made a selection of sixty-five texts (the Greek of which is not usually printed when it is found in Solmsen's selection) with translations and notes, intended to serve as an introduction to the study of Greek philology. Inscriptions are used by G. Meyer²⁵ as illustrations of the simple style in Greek writing.

J. Zingerle has devoted a valuable article²⁶ to Greek inscriptions enjoining and defining ritual or moral purity: A. D. Nock has examined²⁷ the historical importance of cult-associations of which our knowledge comes almost wholly from epigraphical sources: E. Ziebarth has thrown fresh light upon the organisation of private and state banks in the Hellenistic period from inscriptions, published and unpublished, of Cos, Delos, Miletus and other great financial

¹⁵ Vol. viii. Paris (Leroux), 1924.

¹⁷ *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie**, Paderborn (Schöningh), 1922.

¹⁸ Cf. *Oriens*, *Lit.*, xxvii, 90 ff. (G. Studt-landt), *Phil. Week.* xliii, 615 f. (P. Thomsen).

¹⁹ Tübingen, 1923. Cf. *Klio*, xix, 232. *Dents*, *Lit.*, 1924, 765 ff., *Theol. Lit.*, xlix, 35 ff.

²⁰ *Arch. Anc.* xxxviii-ix, 119 f.

²¹ *Die griechischen Dialekte*, II, Berlin

(Weidmann), 1923. Cf. *Phil. Week.* xlv, 777 ff., *Rev. Fil.* lii, 309 ff.

²² III, 1924. Cf. *Phil. Week.*, loc. cit.

²³ Leipzig (Hirzel), 1923. Cf. *Phil. Week.* xlv, 854 ff., *Rev. Fil.* lii, 415 ff.

²⁴ *Griech. Inschriften sprachlich erklärt*, Helsingfors, 1924.

²⁵ *Philol. Suppl.* xvi, Heft iii, 9 ff.

²⁶ *Strena Buliciana*, Zagreb, 1924, 171 ff.

²⁷ *Class. Rev.* xxxviii, 105 ff.

centres²²; O. Viedebantt in his essay²³ on Hebrew, Phœnician and Syrian weights has included a number of weights bearing Greek inscriptions, and A. Wilhelm has collected²⁴ from a wide field materials for the interpretation of the words *λυτρόω* (and compounds) and *λύτρα*, pointing out that in manumissions referring to *λύτρα* (*ἐκ πολεμίων*) we must understand, not that the slave has ransomed his master, but that the master has ransomed the slave, who receives his freedom upon repaying the sum so expended.

No attempt can here be made to give an exhaustive list of vase-inscriptions published for the first time or afresh. Yet I cannot pass over in silence J. C. Hoppin's *Handbook of Greek Black-figured Vases*,²⁵ to which is appended a chapter dealing with the red-figured vases of Southern Italy. The author seeks 'to include every signed vase which can properly be called Greek,' except the Attic red-figured vases which form the subject of his earlier book; and he hopes that the two works will thus 'give a complete tale of the vases manufactured from the seventh to the fourth centuries before the Christian era which bear the signatures of their makers.' P. Kretschmer has discussed²⁶ some questions of Greek phonetics suggested by vase-inscriptions; A. Blanchet has dealt²⁷ with the representations of Venus and Mars on magical and other intaglios, some of which are inscribed, and W. Deonna has published²⁸ two elaborately carved talismanic stones of unknown provenance, now at Geneva, which bear various magical formulæ.

Dispute still rages around the question of the origins, immediate and ultimate, of the Greek alphabet, and though it would be out of place to enter into this here in detail, a few articles bearing upon this important inquiry demand mention. J. Sundwall pursues his investigations into the Minoan scripts, and has recently published brief essays on the signs of linear script A, on two tablets in linear B containing lists of men,²⁹ and on signs representing weights and measures,³⁰ as well as notes of a lecture on the Cretan writing.³¹ F. M. Stawell has put forward in an interesting article³² some 'suggestions towards an interpretation of the Minoan scripts,' the evidence for which, it is claimed, though not as yet amounting to full proof, constitutes a fair case for further investigation on the same lines. The author contends that the Minoan inscriptions represent Greek texts, and believes further that a Cretan original underlies the Phœnician alphabet, the letter-values of which are based on the acrophonic principle, though admitting that cuneiform and Egyptian writing may have had an important influence on the selection of the Phœnician signary. An attempt is made to indicate the phonetic value and the meaning of several texts on seal-stones and on the Phaestus whorl. A. Cuny has attacked the problem of the Phaestus disk,³³ seeking to determine the value of its forty-five

²² *Zeits. f. Num.* xxxiv, 36 ff., 178. Cf. *S.E.O.* i. 344, 436.

²³ *Zeits. d. Palästina-Forsch.* xiv, 1 ff.

²⁴ *Wien. Anz.* 1924, 93 ff.

²⁵ Paris (Champion), 1924.

²⁶ *Archæolog. Festschrift f. Wackernagel* gmelmel, Göttingen, 1923, 190 ff.

²⁷ *C. R. Acad. Inscr.* 1923, 222 ff.

²⁸ *Rev. Arch.* xviii, (1923), 119 ff. Cf. xix, (1924), 419 f.

²⁹ *Acta Acad. Abnormalis Hum.* iv, 1923.

³⁰ *Ibid.* iv, 1924.

³¹ *Arch. Anz.* xxxvi, 354 f.

³² *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxviii, 120 ff. Cf. *Pal. Expl. Fund Q.S.* 1924, 205.

³³ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxvi, 5 ff.

signs by reference to Egyptian hieroglyphs, and concluding that the text, of which a tentative translation is given, forms a kind of 'réclame,' ceaselessly harping on the pre-eminence of a city and of its goddess.

The importance of A. H. Gardiner's famous article⁴⁰ on the Egyptian origin of the Semitic alphabet is indicated by the appearance of a German translation of it in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*,⁴¹ while on the other hand a long and suggestive article by R. Eisler on 'The Introduction of the Cadmean Alphabet into the Aegean World' has been published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.⁴² Our knowledge of the development of the Phoenician alphabet has received a welcome enrichment in the publication⁴³ by R. Dussaud of the tomb-inscriptions of Ahiram, king of Byblus, discovered by P. Montet in a subterranean vault on the site of that city.⁴⁴ Dussaud gives the texts of the inscriptions with facsimiles, translation and commentary, compares them with that of King Abiba'al found at Byblus some thirty years ago, and concludes that they date from the close of the thirteenth century B.C. He compares the characters here employed with those of the 'Moabite Stone' and other well-known Phoenician inscriptions of a later date, and maintains that the new evidence confutes the theories of E. de Rougé, Sethe and Gardiner, which derive the Phoenician alphabet from an Egyptian source, and proves that the Phoenicians were, in fact, the authors of one of the greatest inventions in human history. Of the Marsiliana alphabet I shall say something below in its appropriate geographical order.

II. ATTICA⁴⁵

Frequent reference is made to inscriptions in P. L. Couchoud's 'Interprétation des stèles funéraires attiques'⁴⁶ as well as in G. Guidi's discussion⁴⁷ of the Valerian wall of Athens at St. Demetrius Katiphori and the question of the Diogeneum. B. Tamaro has drawn up what may be described as an epigraphical inventory of the Acropolis,⁴⁸ containing in all 191 texts, of which twenty-nine, mostly very fragmentary, seem to have been previously unpublished. A. Philadelphus has described⁴⁹ forty-one antiquities seized in Athens by the archaeological authorities and deposited in the Thesaurus: ten of these bear votive or sepulchral inscriptions. The same scholar has also published⁵⁰ an epitaph from the Peiraeus and an inscribed *loutrophoros*.

[I.G. i.] *Down to 403 B.C.*—The outstanding event of the period under review was the publication, in the autumn of 1924, of the *editio minor* of *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Vol. I,⁵¹ edited after the unremitting labour of years by F. Hiller von Gaertringen.⁵² It is true that of the 1104 texts comprised in this volume

⁴⁰ *J.E.A.* iii. 1 ff.

⁴¹ lxxvii. 92 ff.

⁴² 1923, 35 ff., 169 ff.

⁴³ *Syria*, v. 133 ff.

⁴⁴ *Ct. Syria*, iv. 334 ff.

⁴⁵ See E. Preuner, *Abh. Mitt.* xvi. 1 ff., *S.E.G.* i. 1 ff., ii. 1 ff.

⁴⁶ *Res. Arch.* xviii. (1923), 99 ff., 233 ff. *Ct. E. Bregia, Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* v.

250 ff.

⁴⁷ *Annuario*, iv./v. 33 ff.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 55 ff.

⁴⁹ *Arch. Anst.* vi. 116 ff.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 127 f.

⁵¹ Berlin (W. de Gruyter): usually referred to as I.G. I.²

⁵² *Ct. Sächs. Berlin*, 1923, xlv, 1924, lvii.

only about nineteen were previously unpublished; but the addition of new fragments to texts already known, the collocation of *disiecta membra* of others, the careful revision to which all the accessible inscriptions have been subjected, the new restorations and interpretations here suggested, the compression within a single volume of all the extant epigraphical materials from Attica down to 403 B.C., and the garnering of the fruits of all the historical and epigraphical researches of the past half-century combine to make this volume one of unique interest to all students of sixth and fifth-century Athens. Its value is enhanced by the annalistic summary of Athenian history (pp. 267-301) entitled 'Fasti Attici,' and by the admirable indexes, which stand in marked contrast with the very unsatisfactory indexes appended to *I.G.* i. and its Supplements.

It may be convenient if I arrange the articles dealing with Attic inscriptions of this period under the numbers borne by these texts in the new *I.G.* i.²; the asterisked items may serve as a first list of *adenda* to that volume.

*10. The restoration of the opening lines of the 'Erythraean Decree' (Hicks-Hill, 32) has been essayed by P. von Hiller himself elsewhere.³³

16. P. S. Photiades has dealt³⁴ with the 'Phaselite Decree' (Hicks-Hill, 36).

*44. P. Graindor has proposed³⁵ a new restoration of l. 3 of the decree relative to Callicrates' building operations on the Acropolis.

49. See below under 97, 114.

78. F. von Hiller refers to his own restoration³⁶ of this fragment of a decree relating to the cult of Apollo.

*88, 89. A. Pogorelski has republished³⁷ with one new restoration, these documents dealing with the temple of Athena Nike, and W. B. Dinsmoor has tried³⁸ to fix their dates (436-5 and 433-2 B.C.) and those of the two other extant decrees relative to the same cult.³⁹

*91. With the 'Decree of Callias' (Hicks-Hill, 49) G. H. Stevenson has dealt in his paper on Periclean finance.⁴⁰

*97, 114. A. Wilhelm maintains⁴¹ that *I.G.* i.² 49c belongs to the stele (*ibid.* 114) on which are recorded the fundamental principles of the restored democracy of 410 B.C. On the ground of similarity of writing he is inclined to assign to the same important document another fragment (*ibid.* 97c).

*115. In her article on dicasts in the ephetic courts,⁴² G. Smith has used the extant copy on stone of Draco's law of homicide (Hicks-Hill, 78).

370. A. Wilhelm has published,⁴³ with a full commentary, the right-hand half of the statement of accounts for the years 421-0 to 416-5 B.C. issued by the Commissioners for the erection of statues of Athena and Hephaestus.

³³ *Amerypapia*, vii. 55. Cf. *S.E.G.* i. 2.

³⁴ *Arch. Ep.* 1922, 62 ff., 79. See *I.G.* i.² p. 302.

³⁵ *Rev. Arch.* xix. (1924), 174 ff.

³⁶ *Amerypapia*, vii. 53 f. Cf. *S.E.G.* i. 4.

³⁷ *Ann. Journ. Arch.* xxvii. 314 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* i. 3, ll. 2; *I.G.* i.² p. 302.

³⁸ *Ann. Journ. Arch.* xxvii. 318 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* ii. 2, *I.G.* i.² 302.

³⁹ *I.G.* i.² 24, 25, Hicks-Hill, 37; this inference has been omitted from *I.G.* i.².

⁴⁰ *J.H.S.* xlv. 1 ff. Cf. *Class. Rev.* xxxvii. 91.

⁴¹ *Wien. Anz.* 1924, 118 f.

⁴² *Class. Phil.* xix. 353 ff.

⁴³ *Wien. Anz.* 1923, 44 ff. (not *Wien. Sitz.* as printed in *I.G.* i.² 370). Cf. *S.E.G.* ii. 3.

*778-89. D. Comparetti has discussed ⁶⁴ afresh at some length the votive inscriptions from the cave of Vari, on the slope of Mount Hymettus, comparing them with those recently found at the entrance to a cave near Pharsalus in Thessaly.

*867. For the boundary-stone of the *ἡρώων* of Serangus in the Peiræus see also *Arch. Anz.* xxxvii, 258.

911. A. Körte has devoted an article ⁶⁵ to the *ostraka* found by A. Brueckner in the Ceramicus (*J.H.S.* xliii, 16 f.). In opposition to Brueckner he holds that 'there is not the slightest ground for connecting the sherds which have been discovered with any other verdict save that of 443 B.C., in which Thucydides was worsted by Pericles,' and he regards the absence of any sherd bearing Pericles' name as explained by the fact that all such sherds, after being separately counted, were thrown out at some other spot. He further emphasises the palaeographical interest of the find. 'The whole of epigraphy knows no parallel to our possession of 43 inscriptions, short as they are, which were quite certainly traced on the same day, in a year which we can determine, by 43 different men, all of them Attic citizens. No other material can give us anything like so vivid a picture of the variety and diversity which marked Attic writing about the middle of the fifth century.'

*919. The oldest extant Attic inscription continues to serve as a storm-centre of controversy. F. Studniczka supports ⁶⁶ against Kalinka and Brandenstein (cf. *J.H.S.* xliii, 18) his previous reading *τότο δέκαυ μιν*. F. J. M. de Waele, accepting this reading, investigates the meaning of *δέκαυ* and concludes ⁶⁷ that it is the infinitive of a verb *δεκάω*, a byform of *δεκάζω*, signifying (a) 'to corrupt by gifts,' (b) 'to corrupt,' and so (c) 'to win' or 'gain.' W. Vollgraft, on the other hand, sees in it ⁶⁸ the future infinitive of *δεκάζω*, 'to do something ten times.' F. von Hiller reads in *I.G.* i² 919 *τὸ τῶδε κάυ μιν*, of which the first two words were proposed by A. Kirchhoff, the last two by U. von Wilamowitz, and believes that the rest of the sentence was left for the owner to supply mentally,—e.g. *κάυ μιν* (*ἰδῆς, χαίρειν κέλευσεν*). He also records a suggestion of Diels, *τὸ τῶδε κάρμ' ἦν* (*ἔστι*).

*975. I. N. Svoronos challenged ⁶⁹ the genuineness of this archaic epitaph, declaring that it and another text engraved upon a leaden perfume-box are forgeries of a modern Athenian dealer in antiquities.

*1019. The same scholar has also dealt ⁷⁰ with the disk of the doctor Aeneas.

*1025. The stele of Lyseas from Velamidoza has been discussed by K. Müller.⁷¹

The archaic sculptured bases extracted from the wall of Athens have claimed unusual attention, and to their bibliography important additions ⁷²

⁶⁴ *Annuario*, iv, iv, 147 ff.

⁶⁵ *Ath. Mitt.* xlvii, 1 ff.

⁶⁶ *Arch. Anz.* xxxvi, 340 ff.

⁶⁷ *Musée Belge*, xxvii, 305 ff.

⁶⁸ *Monumeyne*, lii, 292.

⁶⁹ *Journ. Intern.* xs, 12 ff.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 7 ff.

⁷¹ *Arch. Anz.* xxxvii, 1 ff.

⁷² *Glasg. Weekly*, xv, 205 ff. (T. L. Shear), *Liv. Annals*, x, 61 ff. (J. P. Droop), *Rev. Et. Gr.* xxxvi, 432 ff. (C. Dugas and R. Vallois), *Art and Archaeology*, xv, 117 ff. (W. W. Hyde), *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxvii, 23 f. (W. B. Dinwiddie), *Arch. Anz.* xxxvii,

must be made since the articles noted in *J.H.S.* xliii, 17. The inscription of Endoeus, which I cannot find in *I.G.* i.², has been discussed,⁷² but with little positive result.

The new inscriptions of the period comprise, in addition to those published in *I.G.* i.², part of a signature on a b.-f. fragment in the Dorset Museum,⁷⁴ a *καλός*-inscription on a fifth-century vase at New York,⁷⁵ the signature of Pamphaeus on a r.-f. *kylix* in private possession⁷⁶ and that of Simon on a r.-f. *krater* of the early fifth century recently presented to the Cleveland Museum.⁷⁷ An Attic b.-f. amphora in the Turpin de Crissé collection at Angers, republished by M. Valotaire, bears several inscriptions.⁷⁸

[*I.G.* ii.] *From 403 to 31 B.C.*—Among the most important recent discoveries dating from this period are (a) a decree⁷⁹ of the deme Halimus, belonging to the second half of the fourth century, which fixes the position of the deme and gives some interesting details of its administration; (b) a decree⁸⁰ of the deme Cholargus recently acquired by the Louvre, bearing the date 334-3 B.C. and containing regulations for the celebration of the Thesmophoria; (c) a decree⁸¹ of the *ισοτελεῖς* garrisoning Rhamnus in praise of a certain Apollodorus, *κατασταθεὶς στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου* (Gonatas) *καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν παραλίαν*, and also of the *ἐπιμελητῆς*, dating probably between 262-1 and 256-5 B.C. and attesting a curious blending of the powers of the Macedonian kings and of the Athenian *δημος* at this period; (d) an ephebe-list⁸² assigned by P. Graindor to the year 128-7, and (e) an incomplete list of archons of about 80 B.C. discovered by A. Philadelphus near the Monument of Lysicrates.⁸³ To these we must add a fragment of a fourth-century tribal decree,⁸⁴ a series of twenty-five epitaphs,⁸⁵ copied by J. J. E. Hondius in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, dating from the fourth to the first century B.C., and several minor texts found by G. K. Gardikas⁸⁶ in various parts of Attica. None of these finds, however, has aroused, or is likely to arouse, such keen interest and controversy as a decree of a Salaminian *thiasos* in honour of its officials, published by A. D. Keramopoulos⁸⁷ together with another decree of the same nature, a fragmentary dedication and two leaden tablets bearing *defixiones*, all from Salamis.⁸⁸ The

56 ff., 'Apx. 'Eφ. 1920, 89 ff., 'Apx. Δολτ. vi. 1 ff. (A. Philadelphus), *ibid.* 56 ff. (G. P. Ōkonamōs), *B.C.H.* xlvii. 307 ff. (J. Six), *C. R. Acad. Inscr.* 1922, 215 ff. (T. Homolle), *Phil. Week.* xliii. 40 ff. (P. Hartmann), *Rev. Art anc. et mod.* xlii. 233, 378 ff. A few further references will be found in *Arch. Anz.* xxxvii. 56, note 1.

⁷⁴ *Arch. Anz.* xxxvii. 59, 'Apx. Δολτ. vi. 17 ff., 'Apx. 'Eφ. 1920, 93, *B.C.H.* xlvii. 476.

⁷⁵ *J.H.S.* xliii. 192 ff.

⁷⁶ *Bull. Metr. Mus. Art.* N.Y., xix. 128.

⁷⁷ *J.H.S.* xliii. 134.

⁷⁸ *Bull. Cleveland Mus. of Art.* xi. 49, 64 ff. Cf. the *καλός*-inscription on an Attic alabastron in *Exhibition of the Ionides Collection of Tanagra Terra Cottas*, 20/8/1922,

p. 11.

⁷⁹ *Rev. Arch.* xvii. (1923), 47 f.

⁸⁰ *B.S.A.* xxiv. 151 ff. (Hondius).

⁸¹ E. Michon, *Mémoires présentés à l'Acad. des Inscr.* xlii. 1 ff.

⁸² *B.C.H.* xlviii. 264 ff. (F. Chapouthier).

⁸³ *Rev. Belge de Philol.* lii. 13 ff.

⁸⁴ 'Apx. 'Eφ. 1921, 60.

⁸⁵ *Mélanges P. Groh* (Prague, 1923), 124 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* ii. 8.

⁸⁶ *S.E.G.* ii. 22-38, 40-44, 47-50.

⁸⁷ *Revue*, 1920, 40, 47, 57 ff.

⁸⁸ 'Ο Ἀκαδημαϊκὸς (Athens, 1923), 113 f. Cf. *S.E.G.* ii. 9, 'Apx. 'Eφ. 1922, 108.

⁸⁹ *Op. cit.* 111 f. Cf. *S.E.G.* ii. 10, 16, 51.

decree in question gives the order of six archons, two of whom are here mentioned for the first time, and so affords fresh and valuable evidence for Athenian third-century chronology and incidentally also for that of Delphi. This has been discussed in detail by G. De Sanctis,⁸⁰ who claims that the new discovery proves his earlier theory against all critics. K. J. Beloch,⁸¹ after dealing with the career of Plaudrus of Sphettus, for whom our main source is *I.G.* ii.² 682, examines Keramopoullos' inscriptions and De Sanctis' conclusions, with which he disagrees, and draws up a list of Athenian archons for 262-1 to 231-0 B.C. J. Kirchner too has reprinted and discussed⁸² the inscriptions in the light of De Sanctis' (and, in the latter part of his article, also of Beloch's) contention. T. Walek also has examined in great detail⁸³ the new evidence and De Sanctis' results, which, he claims, 'would, if accepted, overturn the system of Attic chronology even on points which have hitherto been regarded as absolutely established and on which there has been no divergence of opinion among scholars.' How serious the differences between these views are may be seen by the fact that the archon Polyenctus is dated in 277-6 by Walek, in 261-0 by Beloch, in 257-6 or 255-4 by De Sanctis. P. Roussel deals⁸⁴ with the new evidence for the Athenian archons, but approaches the problem mainly from the Delphian side. On the other hand, the article⁸⁵ of A. C. Johnson, in which Athenian history from 282 to 279 is outlined, the alleged breaks in the secretary-cycle are investigated and a table of archons for the years 288-7 to 262-1 is drawn up, is written with special reference to Tarn's article in *J.H.S.* xl. 143 ff. and without knowledge of the new epigraphical evidence.

Other noteworthy contributions to the study of Attic inscriptions of this period are G. De Sanctis' discussion⁸⁶ of the text and the historical value of the decree of 401-0 for the Athenian liberators (*I.G.* ii.² 10), G. Glotz's examination⁸⁷ of a passage relative to the transport of twenty-three drums of Pentelic marble to the workshops of Eleusis in 333-2 (*I.G.* ii. 834c 64-89), A. Salac's comments⁸⁸ on another great Eleusinian text (*ibid.* 834b) and on an honorary decree of the late second century (*I.G.* ii.² 1024), and W. W. Tarn's investigation⁸⁹ of the epigraphical evidence (*I.G.* ii.² 775, 776, 780, 790, 1299) which proves Philip V to have been the son of Demetrius II and the Epirote princess Phthia, though adopted by Antigonus Doson and Chryseis.

Considerations of space forbid detailed reference to other articles.⁹⁰

[*I.G.* iii.] *The Roman Imperial Period*.—Once more P. Grainder has been the principal contributor to the epigraphy of this period. To him we owe a series of three studies of Athens under Augustus. In the first⁹¹ he discusses the four inscriptions set up by the Council in honour of eminent Romans

⁸⁰ *Riv. Fil.* ii. 167 ff.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 273 ff.

⁸² *Phil. Week.* xlv. 869 ff.

⁸³ *Rev. Phil.* xlviii. 5 ff.

⁸⁴ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxvi. 97 ff.

⁸⁵ *Class. Phil.* xix. 67 ff.

⁸⁶ *Riv. Fil.* ii. 287 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* ii. 11.

⁸⁷ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxxv. 26 ff.

⁸⁸ *Mélanges F. Groh.* 128 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.*

ii. 12, 14, *ApX.* 'Ep. 1922, 110.

⁸⁹ *Class. Qu.* xviii. 17 ff.

⁹⁰ *Jahrb.* xxxvi. 168, xxxvii. 85 ff., *Arch. Anz.* xxxvii. 250, *Phil. Week.* xlviii. 309 f. (on *I.G.* ii. 1213), *Rev. Arch.* xx. (1924), 37 ff., *Art and Archaeology*, xvi. 263 (on *I.G.* ii. 2507), *ApX.* 'Ep. 1922, 105 (on *I.G.* ii. 455, 1032).

⁹¹ *Musée Belge*, xxvii. 135 ff.

(*I.G.* iii. 574, 584, 594, 599) and seeks to identify the *Αἰβιος* of the third with the historian Livy. In the second¹⁰¹ he draws up, in continuation of Kirchner's *Prosopographia Attica*, a list of the 530 Athenians known to have lived in the Augustan period. The third,¹⁰² which is not primarily epigraphical though it makes constant appeals to inscriptions (especially ii.² 1035, 1100, iii. 65), deals with the Roman Market and the Tower of the Winds, combating the view, recently put forward by Bagnani,¹⁰³ that the Gate of the Market and the court to which it gives access were not contemporaneous and that the court was a gymnasium, later converted into a market. Even more important is Graindor's *Album d'inscriptions attiques d'époque impériale*.¹⁰⁴ The aim of the work is to give, in a series of ninety-eight plates, 114 excellent photographic reproductions of inscriptions (or, rarely, of squeezes) characteristic of the Imperial period. The author has prefixed a section entitled 'Notes de chronologie' (pp. 1-12), in which he examines and rejects the views set forth by W. Kolbe in his article mentioned below and supports his own theory as elaborated in his *Chronologie des archontes athéniens*. In the 'Références, notes et corrections' an account is given of the texts illustrated and they are corrected in the many cases in which the author has found mistakes of reading or of restoration. Indeed, seven texts or fragments have not been previously published.¹⁰⁵ Other Attic inscriptions of this period recently published for the first time are four epitaphs copied by J. J. E. Hondius,¹⁰⁶ a record¹⁰⁷ of the eponymous archon Claudius Phocas, whom its editor, A. Philadelphus, assigns to A.D. 185-191 and P. Graindor¹⁰⁸ to about 204-5, and several minor texts.¹⁰⁹ W. Kolbe in his discussion,¹¹⁰ already referred to, of Attic chronology in the Imperial period, seeks to determine the order of the archons from 112-3 to 169-70 by the correct fixation of two cardinal dates, that of Hadrian's archonship and that of the beginning of Abascantus' office as *παύδοριβης*, which he assigns to 112-3 and to 136-7 respectively. Incidentally the author deals interestingly with Hadrian's reforms at Athens and with the problem of the Attic new year.

A. Wilhelm has corrected, restored and interpreted¹¹¹ in various points the important inscription *I.G.* ii.² 1096, which unites a letter from the Athenian clan of the Buzygae and one to the clan from the Delphian state; he has shown¹¹² that *I.G.* ii.² 1098, wrongly assigned to the class of 'Imperatorum magistratuumque epistulae,' is really a fragment of an honorary decree of the second century B.C., and has thrown fresh light¹¹³ on *I.G.* ii.² 1125. Finally, B. Tamaro has identified¹¹⁴ *I.G.* iii. 600 as set up in honour of Maecenas, whose father's name is here alone recorded, and A. von Premerstein has examined¹¹⁵

¹⁰¹ *Museo Belg.*, 261 ff.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, xxviii. 100 ff.

¹⁰³ *Boll. d'Arte*, 1922, 331 ff.

¹⁰⁴ *Recueil de Travaux publiés par la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Gand*, fasc. 53, 54.

¹⁰⁵ For a list see *op. cit.* p. 78.

¹⁰⁶ *S.E.G.* ii. 376, 39, 45, 46.

¹⁰⁷ *Apex*, 'Ep.' 1921, 91.

¹⁰⁸ *Archontes athéniens*, 221 ff.

¹⁰⁹ *Apex*, 'Ep.' 1921, 97, *S.E.G.* i. 45.

¹¹⁰ *Ab. Mus.*, xvi. 105 ff.

¹¹¹ *Wien. Anz.*, 1924, 119 ff.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 128 f.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 129. In *Apex*, *Δελ.* v. esp. 6 P. Kastriotis republished *I.G.* iii. 541.

¹¹⁴ *Annuario*, (v./v. 69 L.

¹¹⁵ *Zeits. f. deutsches Altertum*, lx. 77 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* i. 62.

a metrical text which he brings into connexion with a threatened attack on Athens by the Heruli in 267.

III. THE PELOPONNESE ¹¹⁴

An archaic bronze serpent from the Peloponnese bearing a dedicatory inscription has been acquired by the Berlin Antiquarium.¹¹⁷

[*I.G.* iv.] Seventeen fragments of an inscribed Corinthian *krater*, now at Leipzig, have been published¹¹⁸ by A. Rumpf, and B. Schweitzer has contributed notes on some Corinthian inscriptions.¹¹⁹ W. Vollgraff supports¹²⁰ O. Walter's interpretation of the letters ΑΠΕ in several Argive texts as denoting *ἀπελευθερος*, while A. Wilhelm finds¹²¹ in the Epidaurian decree in honour of Archelochus the means of correcting an Argive document discovered in the Heraeum.¹²²

Some fresh epigraphical materials were unearthed¹²³ at the Asclepieum of Epidaurus in 1921, but these have not yet been published. New and valuable contributions have, however, been made to the restoration and elucidation of three of the texts of which I gave some account in my last Bibliography (*J.H.S.* xliii. 21 f.). (a) In two articles¹²⁴ inaccessible to me A. Salac has proposed attractive restorations of two passages in the new record of cures. (b) Of Wilhelm's utilisation of the decree for Archelochus I have spoken above: he has also discussed and amended¹²⁵ the list of Achaean *ρομογράφοι*. I do not know S. Kougeas' article¹²⁶ entitled *Νόμος ἱερὸς εἰς Ὑγίειαν ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ*. (c) Especial interest has naturally been evoked by the constitutional document which may now, after the investigations of Roussel, Tarn, Wilcken and Wilhelm, be claimed as the constitutive act of the Hellenic League created in 302 B.C. by Antigonus Monophthalmus and Demetrius Poliorcetes, a renewal of the earlier Corinthian League of Philip II and Alexander. True, S. B. Kougeas, who has made valuable contributions¹²⁷ to the reconstitution of the text and the interpretation of its juridical value, assigns it to a much later date and regards 'the kings' to whom it refers as Antigonus Doson and Philip V. W. W. Tarn, however, besides making several suggestions for restoring the text, has set forth¹²⁸ the reasons for rejecting the identification of the League to which the document relates either with the Achaean League (Kavvadias) or with that formed by Antigonus Doson (Swoboda, Kougeas). He further shows that Demetrius' league was primarily, though not solely, based on cities, that it was planned on a Panhellenic scale, and that, after the overthrow of Cassander, it was to meet at the four Panhellenic festivals, and he holds that the adoption of the system of *πρόεδροι* was intended as a compliment to Athens. P. Roussel,

¹¹⁴ *Ath. Mitt.* xlii. 34. Cf. *S.E.G.* i. 64 ff., ii. 52 ff.

¹¹⁵ *Arch. Anz.* xxxvii. 76.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* xxxviii./ix. 75 ff.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* xxxvii. 203. Cf. *Arch. Anz.* v. 1921, 38 ff.

¹¹⁸ *Monum. Ant.* ii. 296.

¹¹⁹ *Wien. Anz.* 1922, 48 f.

¹²⁰ *Jahreshefte*, xiv. Beiblatt, 143 ff.

¹²¹ *Practica*, 1921, 40.

¹²² *Leipz. Z.* xlix. 100 f., *Mélanges F. Grah.* 131 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* ii. 58.

¹²³ *Wien. Anz.* 1922, 49 ff.

¹²⁴ *Antiquaria*, vii. 543 ff.

¹²⁵ *Arch. Ep.* 1921, 1 ff. Cf. *Bib. Fil.* i. 134, 386.

¹²⁶ *J.H.S.* xlii. 198 ff.

who writes ¹²⁹ independently of Tarn, reaches the same historical result and advances some cogent criticism of Kougeas and also of Wileken, with whose main conclusions he agrees. He publishes the text with critical notes and lays stress on two of its characteristics, (i) an apparent liberalism, in conformity with the known declarations of the sovereign, here displayed in the recognition of the Achaeans as a political unit, and (ii) a profound anxiety to make the League serve definite ends, i.e. the war with Cassander, which is spoken of as a common crusade. A. Wilhelm too has rendered valuable service in his masterly discussion ¹³⁰ of the inscription with reference both to its historical significance and to the restoration of the text. M. Cary, accepting the text as reconstituted by Wileken and Kougeas and agreeing with the former in attributing it to 302 B.C., examines ¹³¹ the main points of constitutional interest contained in it. A note of minor importance on the same subject is contributed by N. Politis. ¹³²

[*I.G.* v.] LACONIA is well represented, though the considerable epigraphical finds made during the Spartan excavations of 1924 have not yet, with few exceptions, ¹³³ been published. To J. J. E. Hondius and A. M. Woodward we owe a series of 112 inscriptions from Sparta, ¹³⁴ almost all of which were previously unknown; the great majority are brief dedications on small objects of stone, bronze, ivory or clay discovered between 1906 and 1910 in the sanctuaries of Orthia and Athena Chalkioikos. In two interesting excursuses ¹³⁵ Woodward discusses the date of the votive inscriptions from the Orthia temple and the title of the goddess as used in them. On six Laconian names found in this group F. Bechtel makes philological comments. ¹³⁶ Hondius has also published, ¹³⁷ in addition to notes on several already published inscriptions, ten new texts from Geronthrae, including fragments of three decrees, one from Daimonia (Cotyrtia ?), four from Gythium and three from Phoiniki, of which the most valuable is an archaic metrical dedication from the shrine of Apollo Hyperteles, of which F. von Hiller has proposed a restoration. ¹³⁸ In a work to which reference has already been made ¹³⁹ A. D. Keramopoulos illustrates and discusses an inscribed stele from Calamae now at Athens which (though that fact is not noted) was previously published in *I.G.* v. i. 1363.

ARCADIA has produced no new inscriptions, but several previously known have given rise to valuable discussions. Of the Tegean amnesty-law of 324, discovered at Delphi, something will be said below. M. Cary argues ¹⁴⁰ that the decree (*I.G.* v. 2. 1) of the Arcadian Council and Assembly granting *προξενία* to Phylarchus of Athens must be dated in 369-367 B.C., before northern Arcadia joined the League, and not in 362-1, as maintained ¹⁴¹ by F. von Hiller.

¹²⁹ *Rev. Arch.* xvii. (1923), 147 ff.

¹³⁰ *Wien. Anz.* 1922, 52 ff.

¹³¹ *Class. Qu.* xvii. 137 ff.

¹³² *Rev. Arch.* xix. (1924), 401.

¹³³ *Excavations at Sparta*, 1924, 11 ff.

¹³⁴ *B.S.A.* xxiv. 88 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* ii. 59-159.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* 112 ff.

¹³⁶ *Acridagiar. Festschrift J. Wachsmagel* J.H.S.—VOL. XLV.

gewidmet, 154 f.

¹³⁷ *B.S.A.* xxiv. 132 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* ii. 180 ff.

¹³⁸ *Phil. Week.* xliii. 1002.

¹³⁹ *O. Anacreontis*, 89 ff.

¹⁴⁰ *I.H.S.* xlii. 188 ff. For Tegea add *Zeits. f. deutsches Altertum*, ix. 76 ff.

¹⁴¹ *S.I.G.* 183.

Arcadian epitaphs form the main basis of W. Schulze's study¹⁴² of the formation of the Greek vocative. F. Bechtel examines¹⁴³ some of the Dorian and Achaean influences operative in the Arcadian dialect.

[*I.G.* vi.] In an article¹⁴⁴ accidentally omitted from my last Bibliography, E. Kjellberg has examined the language of the extant epigraphical examples of the Elean dialect. In his discussion of the statue of Nike by Paeonius set up at Delphi, H. Pontow has had occasion to refer¹⁴⁵ to the corresponding statue at Olympia and its well-known inscription (Hicks-Hill, 63). S. R[eimach] in a note¹⁴⁶ on the inscribed cup of the Cypselidae in the Boston Museum asks significantly whether it is not 'too good to be true.'

IV. CENTRAL AND NORTHERN GREECE¹⁴⁷

[*I.G.* vii.] To A. von Premerstein we owe a fresh edition of, and historical commentary on, a Megarian epigram (*I.G.* vii. 96) in honour of Pheosphorius.¹⁴⁸ B. Leonardos has added¹⁴⁹ a number of notes to his previous publication of inscriptions from the Oropian Amphiarum. Much more considerable is the work devoted to the epigraphical records of BOEOTIA. P. Graindor has claimed¹⁵⁰ as Boeotian the grave-stele of Hermophanes, now in the Musée du Cinquante-naire at Brussels,¹⁵¹ and F. Bechtel has discussed¹⁵² certain phonetic peculiarities of the Boeotian dialect. In a long and valuable article¹⁵³ A. D. Keramopoulos maintains that four painted sepulchral stelae in the Theban Museum, two from Thebes published by W. Vollgraf in 1902 (*B.C.H.* xxvi. 554 ff.) and two more recently found at Tanagra, are contemporary products of the same studio and depict warriors who fell at Delium in 424 and compares the casualty-lists relating to that battle found at Tanagra (*I.G.* vii. 585) and at Thespiæ (*ibid.* 1888): he also gives a list, and where necessary a description, of the forty-two painted and inscribed stelae from various Boeotian cities, some of them already published, now in the Thebes Museum. We must also note a second-century decree of Tanagra in honour of an Athenian musician and his son who on a visit to Tanagra had given ἀεροῦσεις λογικὰς τε καὶ ὄργανισίας extending over several days.¹⁵⁴ A number of 'monuments figurés' discovered at Thespiæ and published¹⁵⁵ by A. de Ridder bear inscriptions, the most interesting of which is an archaic dedication of a lance-head to Apollo.¹⁵⁶ The group of texts from the same site published¹⁵⁷ by A. Plassart, including victor-lists of the contests of the Musea and Erotidea, I know only indirectly.¹⁵⁸ An interesting

¹⁴² *Arcilapen* (see note 136), 240 ff.

¹⁴³ *Festschrift A. Bezzelberger dargebracht* (Göttingen, 1921), known to me only through E. Hermann's review, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1922, 261 f.

¹⁴⁴ *Éranos*, xvii. 133 ff.

¹⁴⁵ *Jahrb.* xxxvii. 55 ff., esp. 81.

¹⁴⁶ *Rev. Arch.* xvii. (1923), 175.

¹⁴⁷ *Att. Mit.* xlvi. 4 ff., *S.E.G.* i. 98 ff., ii. 184 ff.

¹⁴⁸ *Zeits. f. deutsches Altertum*, ix. 73 ff.

¹⁴⁹ *Arch. Ep.* 1922, 108 ff.

¹⁵⁰ *Musée Belge*, xxvi. 95 ff.

¹⁵¹ *Catalogue*, 80, No. 62.

¹⁵² See reference under note 143.

¹⁵³ *Arch. Ep.* 1920, 1 ff. *Cl. S.E.G.* ii. 187-221, 253.

¹⁵⁴ A. D. Keramopoulos, *Δαγγραφία*, vii. 320 ff. *Cl. S.E.G.* ii. 184.

¹⁵⁵ *B.C.H.* xvi. 261 ff. *Cl. S.E.G.* ii. 225-44.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 292, No. 173.

¹⁵⁷ *Δαγγραφία*, vii. 177 ff.

¹⁵⁸ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxvi. 369.

Thespian dialect decree of the second century B.C., honouring three citizens who had been sent to Delphi as judges, has been edited by A. D. Keramopoulos,¹⁵⁹ as well as a fragment of a fourth-century casualty-list¹⁶⁰ and a tomb-relief.¹⁶¹ In a well-known epitaph of the same city (*I.G.* vii. 1890) G. P. Oikonomos reads¹⁶² [Ἀ]γάθων in place of Γάθων as the name of the dead. M. Cary¹⁶³ maintains that the decree of the Boeotian League granting *προξενία* to a Chalcidian (*I.G.* vii. 2408) does not, as has been claimed, fix the date of Epaminondas' naval campaign and the Theban expedition to Thessaly to avenge Pelopidas' death. A. Wilhelm corrects¹⁶⁴ the text of a decree of Haliartus (*ibid.* 2849), and A. D. Keramopoulos gives us¹⁶⁵ a curious fifth-century prohibition from Acraephia and a group of epitaphs from Lebadea.¹⁶⁶

[*I.G.* viii.] The number of new inscriptions from DELPHI published during the last two years is considerable. G. Daux, aided by copies made by E. Bourguet, has given us¹⁶⁷ a fragmentary dedication of an Athenian named Alcibiades, probably the grandfather of his more famous namesake, a third-century decree of Chaleum honouring the Smyrnaean poetess Aristodama, a fragmentary compact between Chaleum and Tritea, and a group of ten manumissions which throw some light on Delphian chronology in the first century B.C. R. Demangel has added two fragments,¹⁶⁸ discovered in 1922 near the shrine of Athena Pronaia, to the six known fragments¹⁶⁹ of fourth-century leases of sacred lands and houses. P. Roussel's discussion¹⁷⁰ of Delphian chronology in the third century B.C. contains some interesting new material, notably a third-century record of the Dionysiac artists who took part in the Soteria, together with improved copies of, and comments on, several important documents previously known: the author concludes by summarising the resultant chronology in the form of a list of the Delphian archons from 260 to 240 who can be exactly or approximately dated. The largest number of new texts is, however, due to H. Pomtow, whose sixth instalment of *Delphische Neufunde*¹⁷¹ comprises fifty closely printed pages. The opening section deals with fifteen foreign and Amphictyonic texts of the third and second centuries B.C. relative to the employment of arbitration in the settlement of inter-state disputes; of these Nos. V, VII and IXa are new. Pomtow then collects the twenty-four inscriptions attesting the use of arbitration or of foreign judges, including nine which are new, and correcting, restoring or interpreting several of the remainder. The third section is devoted to a discussion of the functions of the *ἐπιδαμουργοί* at Delphi and Chaleum and contains six unpublished documents. Thirteen more are consigned to an appendix, which also contains *addenda* to texts published in this article or previously, a summary of Wilhelm's suggestions made in

¹⁵⁹ Ἀφιερωμα εἰς τὴν Ἱ. Ν. Χερσίδεον, 172 ff. *Cl. S.E.G.* i. 132.

¹⁶⁰ Ἀρχ. Ἐρ. 1920, 35 f.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.* 31, No. 13.

¹⁶² *Ibid.* 56 f. *Cl. S.E.G.* ii. 251.

¹⁶³ *J.H.S.* xlii. 190 f.

¹⁶⁴ *Wien. Ant.* 1924, 129 f. *Cl. Class. Schwyzer, Exercitia*, 501.

¹⁶⁵ Ἀρχ. Ἐρ. 1920, 33 ff., No. 45. *Cl. S.E.G.* ii. 185.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 33, note 1.

¹⁶⁷ *B.C.H.* xlii. 439 ff. *Cl. S.E.G.* ii. 263, 293, 298-311, 360.

¹⁶⁸ *B.C.H.* xlii. 467 ff. *Cl. S.E.G.* ii. 296.

¹⁶⁹ *B.C.H.* xxv. 103 ff.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.* xlii. 1 ff. *Cl. S.E.G.* ii. 258, 260-1, 312, 339.

¹⁷¹ *Klio*, xviii. 259 ff. *Cl. S.E.G.* ii. 254 ff.

the *Wiener Anzeiger*, 1922, vii, and a revised table of archons from 269 to 247 B.C. Elsewhere ¹⁷² Pomtow studies exhaustively the bronze(-gilt?) statue of Nike erected at Delphi and from the extant fragments restores the original and the later dedications (*S.I.G.*³ 81 *A, B*) and the signature of the fourth-century restorer, investigates on epigraphical, archaeological and historical grounds the date, place and occasion of the monument, and deals with the inscriptions—published and unpublished—engraved on the triangular base upon which the statue rested. The same writer has made use of epigraphical evidence throughout his examination of Delphian topography, the first part of which has recently appeared.¹⁷³

The problems of Delphian chronology, especially in the third century B.C., continue to evoke a keen, and at times a bitter, controversy. Roussel's and Pomtow's discussions have already been mentioned.¹⁷⁴ In a second article Roussel deals ¹⁷⁵ with the question of the foundation-date of the Soteria, which is closely bound up with that of the Attic archons,¹⁷⁶ and concludes that in the year of Polyneustus' archonship at Athens the Soteria, transformed by the Aetolians, became penteteric; the lists in which an Aetolian *agonothetes* figures are subsequent to this change, while all others attest the old Amphictyonic festival, which apparently took place annually. K. J. Beloch calls attention to Pomtow's change of view as marked by his most recent table of archons ¹⁷⁷ and claims that he himself established the true chronology some twenty years ago.¹⁷⁸ Various Delphian texts have been anew restored or explained. E. Schwyzer has examined ¹⁷⁹ the name $\text{OP}\Phi\text{A}\Sigma$ inscribed on a metope of the Sicyonian Treasury. T. Homolle offers ¹⁸⁰ a completer reading of the inscription on the bases of the archaic statues of Cleobis and Biton (*S.I.G.*³ 5), the heroes of one of Herodotus' most delightful stories (i. 31). E. Cavaignac protests ¹⁸¹ against Pomtow's restoration of a dedication of Hiero (*S.I.G.*³ 35 *C*) and, proposing to read 21 talents 7 minas as the weight of the offering, seeks to estimate the amount of booty which it represents. I. N. Svoronos has returned ¹⁸² to the much-discussed epigram on the basis of the bronze charioteer. S. Eitrem deals ¹⁸³ with the offerings and deities of the Labyadae and the lineage of the heroine Buzyga (*S.I.G.*³ 438). W. Vollgraß contributes ¹⁸⁴ the first part of an extremely full and detailed study of the Paean to Dionysus by Philodamus of Scarpheia, a literary composition which has been preserved only in an epigraphical text; the article ¹⁸⁵ on the same hymn by V. de

¹⁷² *Jahrb.*, xxxvii, 55 ff. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. iv, 1308 ff.

¹⁷³ Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. iv, 1189 ff. Cf. *B.C.H.*, xvi, 310 f.

¹⁷⁴ See footnotes 170 and 171.

¹⁷⁵ *Rev. Ét. Anc.*, xxvi, 97 ff.

¹⁷⁶ See the references in footnotes 87-94.

¹⁷⁷ *Klio*, xviii, 308. His article *Riv. Fil.*, li, 192 ff. came into my hands too late to be summarized here.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, li, 205 ff., *Griech. Gesch.*, iii, 2, 322 ff.

¹⁷⁹ *Idg. Forsch.*, xxxviii, 161 ff. Cf. *Rhein. Mus.*, lxxiii, 431 ff.

¹⁸⁰ *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1924, 149 ff. Cf. F. Poulsen, *Kgl. Danske Videnskabsrøds Selskab. Hist.-filol. Meddelelser*, viii, 5, 48 ff., *Bdm. Mitt.*, xxxviii/ix, 55 ff.

¹⁸¹ *B.C.H.*, xlvii, 420 ff.

¹⁸² *Journ. Intern.*, xx, 66 ff.

¹⁸³ *Eranos*, xx, 91 ff. Cf. *Riv. Fil.*, li, 387.

¹⁸⁴ *B.C.H.*, xlviii, 97 ff.

¹⁸⁵ *Mavriar*, i, iv, 3 ff.

Falco I have been unable to consult. H. Kasten has devoted a dissertation,¹⁸⁸ as yet unpublished, to the Tegean amnesty-law of 324 B.C., H. Philippart has argued¹⁸⁷ that the epigram on the base of the statue of Agias at Delphi is earlier than its fellow at Pharsalus, W. A. Oldfather has identified¹⁸⁸ the Philotas of a Delphian proxy-record with the friend who gave to Plutarch's grandfather details about Antony's stay at Alexandria (Plut. *Ant.* 28), and A. Wilhelm has corrected or restored¹⁸⁹ a number of Delphian documents including the valuable list of the *θεωροδοκοί*,¹⁹⁰ to which A. Salac also has made a contribution.¹⁹¹ H. Swoboda examines¹⁹² a Pharsalian dedication at Delphi (*Philologus*, lxxvii. 195 ff.), which he dates shortly after 363 B.C., and sees in the polemarchs mentioned in it city magistrates whose title attests Boeotian influence over Thessaly at this period. L. Cantarelli has written a valuable article,¹⁹³ of which J. Colin gives a critical summary,¹⁹⁴ on the character and career of L. Junius Gallio, Seneca's elder brother, with special reference to the letter to the Delphians in which Claudius refers to him (*S.I.G.³* 801 D); he dates Gallio's proconsulship of Achaia from the end of April 52 and holds that Gallio, attacked by fever, left in September 52 for Rome, where in the following year he was *consul suffectus*. St. Paul stayed at Corinth, he thinks, from autumn 50 to autumn 52. In an independent study¹⁹⁵ of the question, W. Larfeld suggests new restorations of ll. 3 and 11 of the inscription and dates the proconsulship from July 1st, 51, to June 30th, 52, and St. Paul's residence at Corinth from autumn 51 to spring 53. But the Delphian inscription which has received most notice is the Roman law relating to measures for the suppression of piracy. The first editor, H. Pomtow, attributed it¹⁹⁶ to 100 B.C. E. Cuq, in a discussion¹⁹⁷ of the nature, date, object, procedure and sanction of the law, emphatically rejected this view and saw in the document the famous Lex Gabinia of 67 B.C., granting Pompey special powers to carry on an effective campaign against the pirates. This view was supported¹⁹⁸ by M. Cary, who regarded it as at least highly probable and rejected the attribution to 100 B.C. Cuq's theory was, however, challenged¹⁹⁹ by J. Colin in favour of the hypothesis that the inscription preserves the plebiscite which conferred on M. Antonius Creticus the extraordinary powers which he wielded in 74 B.C. To this attack E. Cuq replied²⁰⁰ with some asperity, criticising Colin's arguments and supporting his own original view. M. A. Levi, in an article²⁰¹ which I have been unable to consult, maintains that the mention of Latins side by side with Romans indicates a date before the *Leges Julia* and *Plautia Papiria* of 90 and 89 B.C., and that the law must fall between 99 and 96 B.C. because on the one hand it refers to the year 100 (l. 21) and on the other mentions a king of Cyrene and so precedes the death of Ptolemy Apion in 96.

¹⁸⁸ See *S.E.G.* i. 211.

¹⁸⁷ *Rev. Belges de Philol.* lii. 1 ff.

¹⁸⁸ *Class. Phil.* xix. 177.

¹⁸⁹ *Wien. Ant.* 1924, 93 ff.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 103 f.

¹⁹¹ *Mélanges F. Gröh,* 132. Cf. *S.E.G.* ii. 350.

¹⁹² *Philologus*, lxxviii. 424 ff.

¹⁹³ *Rendiconti d. Lincei*, xxxii. 157 ff.

¹⁹⁴ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxvi. 295 f. Cf. *Rev. Bibl.* cxxiii. 632.

¹⁹⁵ *Neue Kirchh. Zeits.* xxxiv. 638 ff.

¹⁹⁶ *Klio*, xvii. 171 ff.

¹⁹⁷ *C. R. Acad. Inscr.* 1923, 129 ff.

¹⁹⁸ *Class. Rev.* xxviii. 60.

¹⁹⁹ *Rev. Arch.* xviii. (1923), 285 ff.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.* xix. (1924), 208 ff.

²⁰¹ *Rev. Fil.* lii. 89 ff.

M. Cary summarises Levi's arguments, seeks to meet them *seriatim*, adds two further details in favour of the identification with the Lex Gabinia, and concludes that Cui's view still holds the field.²⁰² Finally, in a long and detailed examination²⁰³ of the text, which he reconstitutes with the addition of critical notes, translation and commentary, G. Colin draws attention to certain faults in Pomtow's edition, examines Cui's theory, pointing out the historical difficulties to which it gives rise, and shows that the historical data of the text agree with the known facts of the years 100 to 96; he concludes that the law belongs to the close of 101 B.C. and represents an attempt of the democrats to secure for Marius an important military command in the East, including, but by no means confined to, the pirate-ridden seas.

[I.G. ix.] N. G. Pappadakis has prosecuted fruitful researches,²⁰⁴ epigraphical and topographical, in Phocis, where he has discovered unpublished texts at Stiria, Anticyra, Ambrossus, Panopeus, Elatea,²⁰⁵ Tithora and Hyampolis (statue of a Roman proconsul with sculptor's signature), and has recopied the inscription at the mouth of the Corycian cave. He has also been active in E. Locris, where he has made improved copies of several published texts, has collected inscriptions in the Atalante Museum, and has found epigraphical evidence fixing the site of Naryca at Παλαιόκαστρον 'Περγινιδῶν'.²⁰⁶ A. D. Keramopoulos has published²⁰⁷ a mosaic inscription of Amphissa in W. Locris, and A. Wilhelm has restored²⁰⁸ a passage in a decree of the same city. To this district also Pappadakis has devoted his attention,²⁰⁹ finding *inter alia* two manumissions, a fifth-century epitaph near Physcus and an archaic epigram from the modern Kestartisa. From Physcus comes also a second-century record, edited²¹⁰ by W. A. Oldfather, of a *προξενία* granted to a citizen of Aegium by the *κοινὸν τῶν Λοκρῶν*, the only extant reference to the West Locrian *κοινόν*, of which Physcus would seem to have been the capital. AETOLIA is represented only by an archaic dedication on a clay table found by K. A. Romaïos near Therimn²¹¹ and by Wilhelm's restoration²¹² of a striking commemorative epigram of that town. From ACARNANIA K. A. Romaïos has given us²¹³ a second-century list of a guild of worshippers of Zeus Karnos, a dedication to Artemis Agrotera and twenty-eight other inscriptions, almost all sepulchral, from Palaerus, Thyrrheum, Heraclea, Anactorium and other sites. From CEPHALLENIA only a metrical epitaph of the Roman period calls for notice.²¹⁴ An archaic dedication to Heracles has been found²¹⁵ on Mount Oeta, west of Heraclea, and three minor texts at Lamia and Phalara.²¹⁶

²⁰² *Class. Rev.* xxxviii, 162 ff.

²⁰³ *B.C.H.* xlviii, 58 ff., 304.

²⁰⁴ *Apγ. Δελτ.* vi, 143 ff.

²⁰⁵ On I.G. ix. i, 104 see A. Wilhelm, *Wien. Ant.* 1924, 130 f.

²⁰⁶ *Apγ. Δελτ.* vi, 139 ff. H. Swoboda's discussion of the East Locrian *κοινόν* (*Sitzb. Wien.* xcix. 2, 52 ff.) draws largely on epigraphical materials.

²⁰⁷ *Ὁ Ἀστυμαχιστὴς*, 133. Cf. *S.E.G.* ii, 353.

²⁰⁸ *Wien. Ant.* 1924, 132.

²⁰⁹ *Apγ. Δελτ.* vi, 147 ff.

²¹⁰ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxvi, 445 ff.

²¹¹ *Apγ. Δελτ.* vi, 00.

²¹² *Sirena Bidsiciana*, 167 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* ii, 355.

²¹³ *Apγ. Δελτ.* iv, 117 ff. See *S.E.G.* i, 213 ff.

²¹⁴ *Apγ. Ἐφ.* 1922, 100. Cf. *B.C.H.* xlvi, 514.

²¹⁵ *Apγ. Δελτ.* v, τσβ. 31 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* ii, 356.

²¹⁶ *Apγ. Δελτ.* vi, 146.

Coming to THESSALY, we note first R. van der Velde's dissertation,²¹⁷ which, after treating of the question of linguistic intermixture and the aim of 'dialect-geography,' surveys the various strata in the population of Thessaly and their influence on the Thessalian dialect: the material, which is almost wholly epigraphical, is dealt with in detail under the heads of phonetics, accent and syntax, and the results are usefully tabulated at the close of the book (p. 148 ff.). Thaumaci has produced a decree as yet unpublished²¹⁸; the inscriptions from the cave near Pharsalus form the subject of a long essay by D. Comparetti,²¹⁹ who seeks to restore the shorter of the two texts, and of a suggestion²²⁰ by B. Leonardos; a restoration of the mysterious Isis-inscription from Gomphi has been essayed²²¹ by A. Vogliano, who regards it as a hymn to the goddess, and an epigram from Tricca has been published²²² by K. A. Romaïos. An important passage in the great inscription of Larissa (*S.I.G.*³ 543. 17 ff.) has been investigated²²³ afresh by E. Schwyzler. Finally, C. D. Buck, taking as his starting-point an archaic metrical epitaph of Oloësson, has challenged²²⁴ Kretschmer's view that the composers of lapidary epigrams in early times used epic forms only in so far as they offered metrical advantages.

M. N. Ton.

²¹⁷ *Thessalische Dialekttopographie*, Nijmegen, 1924.

²¹⁸ *B.O.H.* xiv. 513.

²¹⁹ *Annuario*, iv. 147 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* ii. 357.

²²⁰ *ApX.* 'Εφ. 1922, 109.

²²¹ *Athenaeum*, i. 259 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* ii.

359, *Phil. Week.* xliii. 1154.

²²² *ApX.* Δελτ. v. 123 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* ii. 358, *Arch. Anz.* xxxvii. 247.

²²³ *Rhein. Mus.* lxxiii. 429 ff.

²²⁴ *Ἀριόδατος. Festschrift J. Wackernagel gewidmet*, 132 ff.

[To be concluded.]

THE PROBLEM OF THE EUMENIDES OF AESCHYLUS

IN the play of Aeschylus the problem before the first jury of the Areopagus was this. A man kills his mother at the order of a god, because she killed his father. Can he be held guilty for an act which racial custom demanded and a god sanctioned? And yet, shall matricide go unpunished, or can that man claim to escape from the Erinyes, whose right and duty to avenge a mother is no less certain than a son's right and duty to avenge his father? The jury could not make up their minds: their votes were equally divided. It is hardly easier for us to give a clear answer to the problem which puzzled those Athenians; and we have a further problem which they were spared—what did Aeschylus think? on what grounds did he acquit Orestes? what did he mean by his solution?

Editors and critics have answered these questions differently. Sidgwick holds that in the *Eumenides* 'the stage is lifted from earth to heaven: it is the powers of light, Apollo and Athena, who are active to protect the morally innocent against the powers of darkness, the Erinyes and the shade of Clytaemnestra, who persecute the technically guilty. The lower view, *that guilt lies in the deed*, is embodied in the pursuing Furies, and here conflicts with the higher view *that the innocent heart must be saved*. . . . The gods of light fight with the gods of darkness, and overcome.' Verrall's explanation is allied to this but more refined. He sees in the play the conflict of two Rights—of justice absolute and inexorable with the relative justice of a civic community—of the *lex talionis* with equity; and he sees in the reconciliation of the Eumenides a mysterious identification of Vengeance and Grace. This explanation is perhaps preferable to that of Sidgwick, who does not explain how powers of darkness can be suitable patronesses for Athens, and who ignores the irrefragable force of the Erinyes' plea and the plain statement of Athena:—

οὐ γὰρ νενίκησθ', ἀλλ' ἰσούφηφος δίκη
ἔξῃλθ' ἀληθῶς οὐκ ἀτιμία σέθεν.¹

But the philosophy seems a little modern for Aeschylus. What did he know of Grace? Were these Rights and their conflict known to his political philosophy? And there is a further and fatal objection to the views of both Sidgwick and Verrall.

It is almost impossible for a modern not to give a fair-sounding explanation of an ancient play. He owes too much to the reputation of the dramatist and to our natural human instinct for edification. But do the facts bear out any

¹ 794-5. Here and elsewhere I quote from Sidgwick's text.

such idealistic interpretations as the above? Does Aeschylus give reasons for the acquittal of Orestes that raise us from a world of primitive beliefs into a more spiritual universe? Does he give any explanation of it at all? It is a cardinal rule in dramatic criticism that a dramatist is not to be taken as preaching unless he preaches clearly. There is no doubt, for instance, when Euripides is attacking the gods or war, or when he is criticising the world's treatment of women. Is it clear here that Aeschylus is preaching a higher morality?

Look first at the gods involved. The only virtue of Apollo is loyalty to Orestes; and even here his client, while crediting him with a knowledge of the moral law, is not certain that he will practise it.

ἄναξ Ἀπολλων οἶσθα μὲν τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν
ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπίσται, καὶ τὸ μὴ μέλειν μίθε.²

All critics have noticed Apollo's deplorable bad manners. Wilamowitz says that 'he behaves like an arrogant *Junker*, too good to dispute with opponents of a lower rank of life,' and observes that the Erinyes display more self-control. Apollo's arguments are as bad as his manners. His plea (625 ff.) rests on three points. First, a son killing a mother is very different from a woman killing a *γενναῖος ἀνὴρ*, a king. Second (657 ff.), there is no such thing as matricide; mothers are not mothers, but mere receptacles of the male-produced semen, as little connected with their husband as one stranger with another³ (660). If you doubt my science, remember the facts of Athena's birth, and you will be convinced (663 f.). Third (667), if you will acquit Orestes, I will make Athens great, and you will have the Argives on your side for ever and ever. Some of these arguments are crude fallacies; some appeal to prejudice and base self-interest; all show not merely a complete *ignoratio elenchi*, but an entire indifference to any such idealistic views, as Sidgwick and Verrall find in the play. Of justice, of grace, of equity, of higher spiritual conceptions, not a trace.

Athena (whom Sidgwick oddly couples with Apollo, as though she were a *praeparatrix*, not an independent judge) is better. She conducts the trial with courtesy and dignity. Her tact, moderation, self-control and persistence in the final debate with the Eumenides deserve their success and were an admirable model to her people. Yet she is not beyond reminding the Erinyes that if they are obstinate, she has access to the sealed chambers where thunderbolts are kept (828). And her ground for acquitting Orestes is amazing:—

ψῆφον δ' Ὀρέστω τήνδ' ἐγὼ προσθήσομαι
μητρὶ γὰρ οὐτις ἐστὶν ἢ μ' ἐγείνατο.
τὸ δ' ἄρσεν αἰνῶ πάντα πλὴν γάμον τυχεῖν
ἅπαντι θυμῷ κέρτα δ' εἰμὶ τοῦ πατρός.
οὔτω γυναικὸς οὐ πρασιμῶσω μῶρον
ἄρδρα κτανούσης δωμάτων ἐπίσκοπον.⁴

² 85 f.

³ Dr. Cysarcus in *Tristram Shandy*

maintains a somewhat similar view.

⁴ 735 f.

Again, nothing of justice, grace or 'the higher view that the innocent heart must be saved': only this: 'I, the president of the court, had no mother: therefore I am on the side of the male defendant against the female plaintiff.' As Wilamowitz says: *Uns genügt das nicht: vielleicht war Aeschylos seiner heimischen Göttin gegenüber in naivem Glauben befangen. Ich glaube, er bequeme sich dem Glauben nur an, weil er eine zureichende Begründung ihrer Abstimmung nicht finden konnte.* That indeed is giving the case away; but it fits the facts better than the theories of Sidgwick or Verrall.

Verrall, it is true, attempts to save Athena's character in his well-known *Prælection*. 'The tremendous discords of the *Agamemnon* and the *Choëphoroe* are not to be solved by methods of political compromise or legal procedure. . . . No true reason, no argument founded on the nature of right, can be given for not punishing any more than punishing an act (like that of Orestes) of which the moral quality remains, after the fullest and best consideration, indeterminate.' And so, to mark the impossibility of deciding which side is right, Athena gives her vote on no judicial grounds, which indeed do not here exist, but 'upon a casual preference, irrelevant to the merits' of the case.⁶

This theory has all Verrall's fine, casuistic subtlety of analysis; but it seems to me, like most of his interpretations of Greek plays, to have more value as a suggestion to some future dramatist than as an explanation of the Greek original. Even if it be correct, it only rescues us from the least of our difficulties. If it explains the oddity of Athena's behaviour, it does not excuse the dishonesty of Apollo's plea. If a case is made out for the Divine president of the court, none is made out for the Divine litigant. Verrall has attempted no justification here. And will his plea for Athena hold? I will only ask three questions in criticism of it. First, how many spectators of the *Eumenides* in the spring of 458 B.C. are likely to have put on the scene an interpretation which seems to have escaped every scholar of ancient and modern times before the year 1906 A.D.? Second, if Aeschylus was propounding a solution which on the surface outrages our sense of justice, why did he not write at least a line of explanation which would have saved us from the outrage? It may be taken as a canon of dramatic criticism—it is a canon which Verrall habitually ignored—that in important issues explanations which would not occur to an intelligent spectator of a play must not be accepted, unless there is any special reason why the dramatist should be obscure. Third, why should not Aeschylus have been able to find an adequate ground for the acquittal of Orestes? It would have been quite easy to make it turn on some ideal and spiritual theory. Verrall and Sidgwick have each suggested grounds which Aeschylus might have used. But Aeschylus has not used them. There is no trace in the play of grace, pity, or a higher justice. There is nothing but the naked yet plausible and logical legalism of the Erinyes on one side; and on the other a sophistry and prejudice which are utterly implausible and illogical. God and the Erinyes state their respective cases to the court, and on the two statements of the case the Erinyes win hands down. It is plain that the poet here was not in an idealistic and spiritual mood. Aeschylus—it is part of his genius and his grandeur—had

⁶ *Cambridge Prælections*, pp. 84-85, 90.

a foot in two worlds. He is a master of lofty theology; he is capable of the crudest anthropomorphism. The Ζεύς ὅστις ποτ' ἑστίν passage of the *Agamemnon* is a good example of this. It opens with a subtle, half-agnostic profession of faith; then passing from religion to barbarism it ends with filial impiety and war in heaven. One can never be sure when opening a play of Aeschylus in which mood, in which world we shall find him. But there is no doubt about the first half of the *Eumenides*. Aeschylus here is in his primitive vein. Apollo's manners and arguments prove it. It is proved again by the allusion to Zeus' imprisonment of his father (641), and by the amazing but uncontroverted statement of the Erinyes that Apollo when he raised Alcestis from death effected this breach of the uniformity of nature by making the Moirai drunk (728). And in the first two-thirds of the play there is not a trace of the ideal or the spiritual to counterbalance these disgusting legends. The theories of Sidgwick and Verrall are not tenable. Yet that of Wilamowitz is little better. Is it to be believed that Aeschylus 'could find no adequate grounds for Orestes' acquittal'? And that he botched up his play with a ground that is no ground at all? That is only a degree more credible. Of course Aeschylus could have found a dozen good reasons. But if so, why did he not find them? That is the problem of the *Eumenides*.

We shall advance a step towards its solution if we note that while the modern reader is interested in one problem, Aeschylus was interested in another. After reading the first two plays of the trilogy, we, and indeed all critics since the fifth century B.C., ask one question before any other:—will Orestes escape and how can he do it? But this is not the question that interests Aeschylus; for him the axial centre of the play is elsewhere. The trial of Orestes is indeed essential to it. But he is forgotten when we reach its close. He leaves the stage nearly three hundred lines earlier, 'returning home' to Argos (764), and significantly does not remain to share the final rejoicings. The dominating interest of the play for Aeschylus was not Orestes, but something else. That is why Aeschylus called the sequel to the madness of Orestes *Eumenides*, while Euripides entitled it *Orestes*. This eclipse of the nominal hero is one of the clues that guide to our answer. The emergence of the Erinyes is another. It is hardly dramatically defensible that these goddesses, the mere sight of whom 1000 lines earlier had deprived the priestess of the use of her legs, should when the play closes be welcome members of a festal procession. They snore (53), their breath smells and burns (134), their eyes produce a loathsome secretion (54), there are snakes in their hair. And yet before the play ends they are almost its heroines. Before it reaches its central point, their physical and moral peculiarities are forgotten. We see them only as the tenacious champions of an austere but impartial penal law, which they support in the interests of human society, as a bulwark of σωφροσύνη (521, 530), justice (539), and healthy-mindedness (535), a defence against anarchy (525), impiety (534), and Hubris (534). From loathsome monsters of hell they have become patronesses in whom Athens may rejoice. And all this interest is introduced at the expense of logical coherence. The last 350 lines of the *Eumenides* are not an integral

part of the trilogy. They are a loosely connected episode, stitched on its outside.⁶ Why then did Aeschylus introduce them? and why did he write the play, so that at its close we have forgotten Agamemnon, Clytemnaestra and Orestes, and are thinking only of the Eumenides? For the play closes without a reference to what is usually supposed to be its main subject; indeed from line 778 there is no allusion to it, except in so far as it concerns the anger of the Erinyes.

This curious fact is not to be explained by saying that Aeschylus wished to glorify a local legend or to add a patch of local colour to his play. That could have been done in a few lines, as in the *Oedipus Coloneus* or in the *Iphigenia in Tauris*. There must have been some stronger reason why Aeschylus devoted a quarter of his play to the reconciliation of the Erinyes and allowed it to dominate and eclipse the acquittal of Orestes. There must have been some stronger motive to induce the poet to break his play's unity of subject. For some reason Aeschylus was particularly interested in the reconciliation. Every Athenian knew what that interest was when the chorus spoke the first two lines of the song that begins *νῦν κατατροφαὶ νέων θεσμίον* (490). It was not the first time that the audience had heard those sentiments.

The *Eumenides* was first acted in the spring of 458, shortly after the triumph of the democratic party, which had resulted in a breach with Sparta, an alliance with Argos, and the reforms that, depriving the Areopagus of its administrative and supervisory power and curtailing its judicial rights, left it a shadow of itself. The date of this revolution is now generally considered to be the autumn or late summer of 462 B.C. It was the decisive battle of the political struggle: henceforward Athens was an unrestricted democracy. The political passions of the day are buried under the dust of time; but the ostracism of the leader of one party and the murder of the leader of the other bear witness to their violence.

What was the attitude of Aeschylus to the reforms? No doubt the critics are right who believe that he accepted them loyally. His own political ideals are clearly expressed in Athena's speech (690 f.). A moderate democracy, *τὸ μὴτ' ἀναρχὸν μὴτε δεσποτούμενον* (696), which does not push reform to extremes (693) or go too far in banishing the terrors of restraining law (698). The only words that offer any difficulty to this interpretation are line 693.⁷ But they are vague and capable of the interpretation I have given them. The word *παρ* in 693⁸ seems to imply that Aeschylus acquiesces in the reform of the Areopagus, provided that its reform does not degenerate into its destruction. And those who believe that he took the conservative view must explain why he gives the Areopagus the functions which the democrats left it and gives it nothing more. Aeschylus makes the Areopagus a law court, not a council. Ephialtes reduced it from a council to a court. Aeschylus assigns it no other function than to try homicide, and represents it as instituted to settle a murder case. Trial of murder was the chief function which Ephialtes assigned it. Even

⁶ The play would be a finer work of art if Aeschylus had adopted the legend which Verrall argues was the original one, and had made the disappointed deities return by

a chasm in the earth to their infernal home (cf. Eur. *EL*, 1270).

⁷ *ἀτὰρ καλὶτ' αὖ μὴ σικανόεσσαν νόμον.*

⁸ καὶ μὴ τὸ θεῶν τὰς νόμους ἔτε βάλλει.

more decisive evidence of the democratic sympathies of Aeschylus is his outspoken and repeated approval of the other great change carried by the democrats in the teeth of conservative opposition—the substitution of an Argive alliance for friendship with Sparta (290, 762 f.). Is it likely that Aeschylus would have rejected the domestic policy of the democrats while supporting their not less momentous abandonment of Panhellenism? Political eclectics were rare at Athens; and Aeschylus was not the man to be among them.

The *Eumenides* then was written while the minds of all were filled, and the hearts of many sore, with the greatest domestic struggle that Athens was to know for sixty years. Allusions to it in the *Eumenides* have, of course, always been recognised. Apart from the prominence given by the play to the body that had recently been so prominent in Athenian politics, no reader could fail to see that the speech in which Athena founds the Areopagus and the prayers in which the Eumenides bless Athens were charged with meanings deeper than those on their surface. What I wish here to argue is that the contemporary allusions go far beyond these: that for more than half the play the battles of 462 B.C. are at least as much in the mind of Aeschylus and his audience as the story of Orestes: that in the discord of the two unreconciled rights of Apollo and the Erinyes the poet intends an allegory of a later struggle not less vehement and bitter between rights equally well-matched. Here we find the reason why Orestes disappears, why the reconciliation is allowed to break the unity of the play, why the Erinyes change from loathsome bugbears into austere, Calvinistic idealists, why the case for Orestes is rested on grounds perfunctory and even absurd. The reason is that for poet and audience the main interest was not the trial, but greater and more intimate issues. *Major rerum nascitur ordo*. Let me now try to work out this theory in detail.

Aeschylus does not, of course, allow his moral to spoil his story. He is telling a traditional *μῦθος*, and he would not, indeed could not, distort that beyond recognition. Now in detail the *μῦθος* of Orestes and the struggle of democrats and conservatives do not correspond. Obviously Ephialtes was never hunted by Cimon nor tried before a tribunal. It is not the incidents of the story but their significance that are parallel. For each fact in a play or in life is two things: it is a bare incident in the world of phenomena, it is a meaning in the world of thought. So we shall look for parallelisms less when the poet is telling his story than when he is revealing its meaning: less in the narrative than in the comments, less in the speeches than in the choruses, where we see the incidents of the play not in themselves but as ideas with a spiritual significance. The allegory, if it may be so called, commences at line 490. We should not expect it earlier. The pursuit and the *δέσμιος ὕμνος* belong to the story of the play. It is when the Furies state their case that we become aware of the spiritual issues of the play: it is then that the thread becomes double, and the parallelism appears.

Let me define a little further. I do not imply that Apollo represents the democrats, and that the Erinyes stand for the conservatives. There is no identity of persons here. But there is a similarity of situation. The parallel lies in the struggle of two Rights, the rejection of one, the heartburnings which

follow the rejection, and the reconciliation which unites the lately warring parties, not indeed in personal friendship, but in joint service to something outside and greater than themselves. The quarrel in the *Eumenides* has five acts:—an antithesis, a struggle, a decision, heartburnings, a reconciliation. The quarrel at Athens had had four acts, identical with the first four of these. Aeschylus wishes to urge on his countrymen a fifth act that would be identical too. The parallel is exact in general outline; I shall try to show how close it is in detail.

The first words of the chorus strike the note which henceforward dominates the play: *εἴν καταστροφὰί νέων θεσμίον* . . . *πάντας ἤδη τὸδ' ἔργον εὐχερέα συναρμόσει βροτοῖς* (490 f.). It is the undying plea of conservatism in all ages—if you destroy the old order, you strike at the bases of society, the roots of morality, and posterity will suffer and bitterly regret your act. Lines 503–565 are variations on this single theme. The phrases may have been used, the sentiment must have been again and again repeated, in the debates which ended in the overthrow of the Areopagus. The Erinyes are ceasing to be the loathsome monsters of the play's opening: they are becoming representatives of justice and discipline. The gist of their argument throughout is that of the defenders of the Areopagus, who might have used every word in lines 503–543, except line 512, and every word in lines 549–565, without change of syllable or wrench of meaning.⁹ Is it credible that an audience, which had heard through a succession of debates the old order defended with these familiar arguments, would see no analogy between the overthrow of the *πάλαιαι νόμοι* and the revolution which had just taken place in their midst? Indeed in certain of his phrases Aeschylus seems to have forgotten the Erinyes and to remember only his own *δόμος δίκας* (516). Take

ἔσθ' ὅπου το δεινὸς εὖ | καὶ φρενῶν ἐπίσκοπον | δεῖ μέλει καθήμενον
συνφέρει | σωφρονεῖν ὑπὸ στένει.

The phrases admirably describe and defend the Areopagus; they contain the actual word employed by Plutarch to describe its functions;¹⁰ but *φρενῶν ἐπίσκοπος* is a wide term to apply to deities whose functions were very limited.

⁹ I quote in *extenso* the first of these passages. Let the reader surmise himself to have no clue to the meaning of these lines, and to know only that they contain a plea either for the Areopagus or for the functions of the Erinyes. Then let him read them and consider to which they seem most appropriate. He will, I believe (if he ignores line 512), give his vote to the first of these alternatives.

ἐκρίνεται δ' ἄλλος ἄλλῃσι προφῶ | κῶν τὰ τῶν
φίλοι κακῇ | ἄλκι ἐπὶθεῖν τε μόχθον. |
ἀνδ' ἔ' αὖ βίβρα τὰδ | μὲν μῆτιν παραγγυαί |
μοῦδ' οὐ κεκληροῦντα | σμφουῶ
τεταρμέναι, | τοῖς' ἔπος θροῦμαικοι. | δ' δίκαι, | δ'
δοῦναι τ' ἔρμινος (512). |
καὶ τὰ οὐ τὰχ' ὅς περ ἔχ' | δ' τεύχεα νεοταῖς |

ὕλατον ἐκρίνεται, ἀναι | δὲ εἴττω
δόμος δίκαι. | ἔσθ' ὅπου τὸ δεινὸς εὖ | καὶ φρενῶν
ἐπίσκοπος | δεῖ μέλει
καθήμενον | συνφέρει | σωφρονεῖν ὑπὸ στένει |
εἰς δὲ μὴδὲν ἐν δέει |
σφιδαι δὲ ἀνατρέφει, | ἢ πέλοι βροτοῖς θ', ἡμοί |
οὐ δ' ἔ' ὅς σέβει δίκαι. |
μὴν' ἀνέχεται βίαι | μὴν' ἀπακατέμνησεν |
αἰνέσει. | κατὰ μέγαν τὸ κράτος φέει ἀπαρτεν |
ἄλλ' ἄλλ' ὅς ἐσφινέει, | ἱέρμετρα δ' ἔπος λέγει, |
δοσσεβίας μὲν ἔβρι | τίνοι δὲ
ἀνέμω | δὲ δ' ἔπος | οὐ φρενῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν | καὶ
πολλοῖσι τὰς ἔλβας. | δὲ τὸ σὺν
δὲ σὺν λέγει, | βροτοῖς αἰδίσαι δίκαι. | καὶ τὰ οὐ
αἰδοῖ ἴδω ἀνδρῶν καὶ λέγει
ἀνδ' ὅς περ καὶ γὰρ ἐκρίνεται

¹⁰ *ἐπίσκοπος* V. Solanis, 8, 19.

and *σωφροσύνη*, though it well defines the result of the censorship of the Areopagus, is an odd word to describe abstinence from matricide. Or take lines 526-536.¹¹ The words in spaced type have no relevance to the nominal subject of the *Eumenides*, and the rest are not very appropriate. But they would mean much on the lips of Athenian conservatives. Or take lines 549-550, *ἐκὼν δ' ἀνάγκας ἄτερ δίκαιος ὃν οὐκ ἀνέλεστος ἔσται*: it is odd to describe the Erinyes as applying 'constraint,' but this is exactly what the unreformed Areopagus did. Again, the charge of *αἰσχροκέρδεια* (541), though natural in Athenian debate, could hardly be brought against the jury of this play.

There follows the debate and the ambiguous verdict. Here, in an iambic section, Aeschylus reverts to his story. He could do no otherwise; yet even here we can trace some contemporary influence. If the wish of Aeschylus was to plead for reconciliation at home by exhibiting a parallel struggle in the past, which now ended in reconciliation, he must hold the balance equal between the two parties. A peacemaker must be impartial: to make the victors win hands down would ruin his case by deplorable want of tact. So here neither side wins outright. The conservatives' arguments are as good as their opponents' plea, and they persuade half the jury. Yes, it may be replied, but the reason is aetiological: Aeschylus is giving a historical explanation of the Athenian custom of acquitting the criminal who won half the votes. Possibly. But it is less easy to see why Athena acquits Orestes, not on the arguments urged by Apollo, which she ignores, but for private and eccentric reasons of her own (736 f.). It is not usual for a judge to hear a case, pay no attention to the defence, yet discharge the defendant on grounds that have never been mentioned in the trial.

I suggest that the significance is this. In the play Orestes and the Erinyes have each a strong case. It is put before an ideal human jury, who are equally divided as to which is right. The problem is referred to a deity, who settles it by an arbitrary decision. That is the *μῦθος*. Aeschylus and his audience saw a political moral in this *μῦθος*. Aeschylus either believed in his heart, or in fact professed, that the conservatives and the reformers of 462 both had irrefragable arguments for their views, and that, if the question were put to a human jury, no decision would be reached. And then, if the conservatives asked him why, of two equal Rights, theirs should be the one to give way, he replies with what may be either a piece of mysticism or a political equivocation, but is certainly an appeal to patriotism. 'It is the will of Athena, of your own goddess. She gives no grounds intelligible to human reason. She never says that you are wrong and your opponents right. She simply declares her will:—

ἐμὸν τὸδ' ἔργον, λοισθήϊαν κρίναι δίκην (734).

Accept as good Athenians the words of Our Lady of Athens.'

This is at least plausible. But we are on the firmest of ground when we

¹¹ *μήτ' ἀνδραγαθόν βίον | μήτε δασυτομό- ὅτε δύνωμι | ἐν τ' ἔργῳ | αἰσχροκέρδεις ἐκείνοι |*
μενον | αἰσχροί. | παντὶ αἰένω νό κέρτερι καὶ καλίσταται ὁδῷ.
θόδῳ δ' αὖτις. . . δασύβλας μὲν ἔβλας γένεαι

reach the next chorus. Here we have not the plea of conservatism, but the rage of defeat.

ὦν θεοὶ νεώτεροι παλαιοὺς νόμους | καθιππάσασθε κακὰ χερῶν εἴλεσθέ μου. |
ἐγὼ δ' ἄτιμος ἂ τάλαινα βαρύκοτος | ἐν γὰρ τῇδε φεῦ | ἰὼν ἰὼν ἀντιπενθῇ | μεθεῖσα
καρδίας, σταλαγμὸν | χθονὶ ἄφορον (778-784).

That is a literal description of many a Greek revolution: it sums up the emotions and hopes of Demaratus and Alcibiades and of many an unnamed and unknown exile. And if we knew anything of the sequel to the struggle of 462, we should doubtless hear of vengeance and counterplots, reckless threats, ἰὼς ἀντιπενθῆς—the venom of the defeated. In the following lines too we find not only sentiments that might be transferred *in toto* from the Erinyes to the politicians of 462, but phrases that are far more suitable to the latter.

For instance, lines 837 f.:

ἐμὲ παθεῖν τῆδε φεῦ | ἐμὲ παλαιόφρονα κατὰ γᾶν οἰκεῖν | φεῦ ἄτιστον μῦθος.

The MSS. here read γᾶν. Hermann, not unnaturally, but against their consensus, altered to γᾶς. For what need compelled the Erinyes to live 'in Attica'? Their home, we have been told in line 420, is γῆς ὅπαι. But in fact Aeschylus (who could equally well have written γᾶς) wrote γᾶν, because the phrase brought his allegory home.

The Erinyes say what we should expect them to say: what no doubt the wilder spirits in the defeated at Athens must have said, unless this revolution was unlike all others in Greece. But what of Athena's reply? Does it fit the original story alone? or is it equally applicable to the politics of the time? Is it the plea that an enlightened patriot would urge on oligarchs angry at the loss of privilege, seeing no future for them in the new democracy, and prepared to recover by blood what they had lost by a vote? 'Do not take your defeat,' she says (794 f.), 'too hardly. It is no personal disgrace (795). Give up these threats of revenge (800 f.). You can live in Athens and enjoy (as Pericles and many another aristocrat were to enjoy) the honour of your fellow-citizens (807). If it comes to force, I have it at my command, but there is a better way of settling our differences (827-829).' Each of these arguments is punctuated by protests from the Erinyes. Athena's next speech (847-869) could be put verbatim on the lips of a contemporary of Aeschylus (except for line 860). 'You are the older generation and have more experience than I: yet wisdom is not confined to you (845-850). You may leave Athens, but you cannot help loving her¹² (851-852). A future waits for Athens, and for you, greater than any other state can offer (853-857). Do not vex us with civil war (858-866). This is what I offer you:—

¹² ἐμαῖ δ' εἰ ἀλλόφρονες ἐλθοῦσιν χθόνα
γῆν-τῇσθ' ἐρασθήσεσθαι.

The application of these words to the contemporary situation is obvious. But what meaning can they have in the play? Why should the Erinyes be supposed likely to

go to 'a foreign country' (ἀλλόφρονες χθόνα)? And why in any circumstances should they—detached and impartial deities whose business is punishment, not love, least of all *love*—be likely to love Athens?

εὐ δρῶσαν, εὐ πάσχουσαν, εὐ τιμωμένην,
 χάρας μετασχεῖν τῇδε θεοφιλεστάτης (868-869).'

More mutterings. And then Athena: 'It is not we who wish to expel you. Listen to the persuasion of your own goddess—the Peitho which is ἀγνή to a people that does not settle its disputes by force—and stay. Or if you will leave us, at least let the feud sleep (881-889). Again I make my offer:—

ἔξεστι γάρ σαι τῇσδε γαμόρῳ χθονός
 εἶναι δίκαιος ἐς τὸ πᾶν τιμωμένη (890-891).'

I have said enough to illustrate the exactness of the parallelism, and we have now arrived at a part of the play where contemporary allusion has always been recognised. Even if *μηδὲ πιούσα κῆρυξ | μέλαν αἷμα πολιτῶν | δι' ὄργαν ποιῶς | ἀντιφόνους ἄτας | ἀρπαλίσσαι πόλεως* (979-983) does not definitely allude to the murder of Ephialtes and recommend the abandonment of anything like a blood feud (*ποιῶς ἀντιφόνους ἄτας*), at any rate an Attic audience, in the circumstances of the day, must have taken the speech in which it occurs as an exhortation to close their ranks against the common enemy and avoid civil strife.

To sum up: in writing this play, Aeschylus was interested far less in Orestes than in the political issues of his own day. In the contest between the Erinyes and Apollo he saw an allegory of the contest of conservatives and democrats at Athens. He gave utterance through the mouth of his chorus to the feelings, arguments and threats of the defeated party; he put up their own goddess Athena to plead for reconciliation; and he brought his play to an issue in which the rivals sink their private differences in a common loyalty. It was because he was interested in this rather than in Orestes that he based the acquittal on grounds very lame in themselves, though harmonising admirably with the purpose which he had in hand. Is this really the meaning of Aeschylus? We cannot here apply such tests as would be ready to our hand if we possessed an account of the fall of the Areopagus, giving details of the struggle and of the actual arguments of the combatants. That might reveal allusions in the play which now escape us.¹² Meanwhile the argument from probability seems overwhelming. I know the objections to novel interpretations of Greek plays, unknown to Alexandrian commentators and to later scholars. But such an interpretation if ever justifiable is justified here. For if the play contained a contemporary moral, the key to it would be lost within at most a generation. Political struggles are quickly forgotten. How many remember to-day the fierce battles over education and 'Chinese Labour' which overthrew the Conservative Government in 1906? 'Passive resisters' are barely a memory with the present generation. And the rapid developments of fifth-century Athens must soon have overlaid the fall of the Areopagus, still more the veiled allusions to it in this play, so that within thirty years men would have read it as we read it. It is remarkable that the scholia do not notice even the obvious references to contemporary events which all scholars admit. It is therefore

¹² Thus 798-797 may refer to a contemporary inquiry from Delphi.

not surprising if references less immediately on the surface should escape scholars to whom issues, living to Aeschylus, were dead and buried.

And after all the issues are there. No one asserts that the prominence of the Areopagus in the play or the concluding denunciation of civil war is accidental. I only suggest that they are present in places where they have hitherto been overlooked, and that Aeschylus, writing in a profoundly disturbed political milieu and with an allegory to his hand which conveyed lessons suitable to the situation and congenial to himself, did not refrain from using it. Indeed the ordinary view of the play is highly implausible. For if there are any contemporary allusions in the play, there would inevitably be more than it admits. If Aeschylus had been content with a mere glorification of the origin of the Areopagus, he would have misled his audience; for, as we have seen, he accepted the reforms. His own views as well as the interests of his country demanded that he should go farther, offer some remedy for the present discontents, and convert the Erinyes of his own day into Eumenides.

So much for external probability. When we turn to the internal evidence, to the play itself, we find an exact analogy to the contemporary situation: a contest, and the very arguments which the defenders of the Areopagus must have used; a defeat, and the threat that must have followed their defeat; an appeal from personal disappointment to a common patriotism; a reconciliation such as we know to have followed, and which bore its fruits at Tanagra. Further, we find lines—I need not recur to them—which hardly apply to the Erinyes and to the *mûthos* of the drama, but which admirably suit the Athens of 458. These are facts. It is, of course, possible to deny the interpretation here placed on them. In this case we must suppose that the central interest of the *Eumenides* for Aeschylus was the problem of Orestes' acquittal, and that though it was the central interest, he could find no better reasons for the acquittal than he gives; in fact, that the climax of his trilogy is badly botched. We must suppose that though the fortunes of Orestes are the real subject of the play, Aeschylus thought it suitable that we should hear nothing of his hero after line 777, that for 270 lines a new interest should occupy our minds, and that the closing scene of the play should contain no allusion to him. Finally, we must suppose that, though whole speeches of the Eumenides and of Athena could be placed *totidem verbis* on the lips of the disputants of contemporary Athens, this was wholly unintentional, and passed unobserved by the poet and by the most quick-witted audience that has ever listened to a play.

We may suppose all this. But those whose intellectual digestion is less excellent will see in the play a parallel to the *Persae*. Only, whereas the politics are openly avowed in the *Persae*, here (though audible enough) they are a *sous-entendu*. It could not be otherwise: common sense, ordinary tact, did not allow the poet to speak aloud. In the *Persae* he was exhibiting to a united people a triumph in which they all had a share. Here he was administering certain medicinal suggestions to a defeated party. They could not be palatable, though he knew them to be wholesome. If they were presented without a decent if transparent disguise, they would be rejected from the first. So he did what every doctor does. He made them up in a pill. Pills do not

deceive us; but their rounded and agreeable surface enables us to take drugs which in their naked state we should refuse. So we are to see in this play, as in the *Persae*, first and foremost a topical drama. Neither play is the worse for that. For in both a great poet has taken a contemporary event, purified it of the accidents of the hour, viewed it *sub specie aeternitatis*, and shown the world how, under the transitory emotions of a political struggle, to trace issues and principles that never pass.¹⁴

R. W. LIVINGSTONE.

¹⁴ It may be argued that if the Areopagus lost its powers in 462 B.C., allusions to it in a play acted three and a half years later would fall flat. The conclusive answer to this objection is that allusions to it are present in any case. And naturally. The groundswell of political revolution long outlasts the original storm. In our own nation, so calm, so callous in accepting accomplished facts, the agitations that led to the

Reform Bill disturbed, if they did not convulse, England for many years after 1832. And the Athenian was not calm and compromising, but emotional and intransigent. Indeed the opening of the archonship to the Zeugitae, which closes the first phase of fifth-century democratic reform, was carried in the very year of the *Oresteia*.

NOTE TO J.H.S. XLIV., P. 281.

The Editors have received a letter from Mr. Theodore Reinach stating that in view of the terms of a footnote in *Jhb.* 1923-4, p. 57 ('die verblendete und unredliche Entgegnung Th. Reinachs') he must decline to reply further to Dr. Studniczka. He asks that publicity be given to this statement lest his silence be mistaken for approval.

The controversy cannot be carried further in this *Journal*.

THE EDITORS.

THE SYSTEM OF THE PENTATHLON.

MR. NORMAN GARDINER, in his *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, pp. 369-370, comes to the following conclusions as to the method of deciding the pentathlon:—

1. From a passage in Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vii. 4. 29, he concludes that some sort of elimination took place and that only those were allowed to compete in wrestling who had qualified in the first four events. 'As to the qualification, speculation is useless. We must be content to accept the words of Xenophon and hope that the discovery of some inscription or papyrus may enlighten us.'

2. From the account given by Philostratus of the mythical invention of the pentathlon by Jason, he concludes that victory in three events was sufficient but not necessary. Peleus, we are told, was victorious in wrestling and second in the four other events, and 'Jason wishing to please Peleus, combined the five events and thus secured to him the victory in the whole competition.' 'Only two explanations are possible. Either wrestling counted more than the other events, a quite unwarranted assumption, or, in case of a tie at least, account was taken of places, i.e. the result was determined by a system of marks.' As to details, 'speculation is useless.'

It seems to me that Gardiner is too pessimistic. Speculation is not useless, and another explanation of the pentathlon of Peleus is possible. Gardiner has established the principle that absolute victory in three events was not necessary. Peleus was not absolute victor in any three events. But he was victor in three events over each of his competitors individually, and therefore was victor in the whole competition. The problem will be solved if we say that victory in three events over each competitor individually was necessary for victory in the whole.

This principle of three *comparative victories* instead of absolute also explains the reduction of the competitors before the wrestling. Every competitor who had been beaten in three events by any other competitor, and who had therefore no more chance of beating him in three events, was excluded. Thus only those qualified for wrestling who had tied by winning two victories against each other.

This exclusion of the already beaten competitors is not only a historical probability but a technical necessity, without which the conduct of the pentathlon would have been impossible. If all had been allowed to wrestle and wrestling had been conducted upon the tournament system, the final result might have often been curious. For it could easily have happened that the winner of the wrestling final was beaten by the loser in three previous

events, and that the loser in the wrestling final was in his turn beaten by the competitor whom he had thrown in the semi-final, and so on.

Again, had wrestling been conducted on the 'pool system,' in which every competitor wrestled with all the others—it seems to me most improbable that this system was known to the Greeks—the result would have been little better. For it often happens that if the results in five events are compared, A beats B in three events, B beats C, C beats A, and so on. Thus we are involved in a vicious circle and no conclusive result is obtained. With four events this vicious circle is impossible (except in the highly improbable case of four competitors each having one first, one second, one third and one fourth place.—E. N. G.).

All those difficulties were consciously or unconsciously avoided by the reduction of the number of competitors before wrestling to those who had so far tied with one another. The writer has experimented with a dozen or more modern pentathletes in an imaginary pentathlon, and found that in spite of seeming equality only two or three would survive to wrestling.

Thus the winner of the final wrestling is the winner of the pentathlon, for by his victory over his last opponent he proves to be superior to him in three events.

It may be remarked that according to this system no wrestling would have been necessary in the Argonautic pentathlon, as Peleus had already outchased all his competitors by three comparative victories. This incongruity is readily explained by the fact that Jason was supposed to invent the pentathlon *after* and in consequence of the games whose programme 'happened' to constitute the pentathlon.

Numerous further considerations seem to be in favour of the system.

1. The system is simple both in theory and practice. The reduction of competitors after the first four events could be effected in a few minutes by means of a simple scoring sheet.

2. The idea of mutual comparison man with man individually is in accord with the ancient love of single combat.

3. It was only necessary to determine the victor. The Greeks took little account of second or third places.

4. The system seems to be fairly just, at least far more so than the system of marks employed in the modern Olympic Games, where weakness in a single event may ruin the chances of a competitor who is champion in the remaining contests. In this the Greek system harmonises with the true spirit of sport.

The writer is no archaeologist or linguist, and cannot prove his theory, which he therefore leaves to be scrutinised by scholars. But he cannot help feeling rather confident that the system of the pentathlon is no more a mystery.

CAPTAIN LAURI PIHKALA.

Helsingfors, Finland.

It has been a great pleasure to me to be allowed by the Editors of the *Journal* and the author to prepare for publication this most interesting and practical paper. Though the theory proposed by Captain Piikala is incapable of absolute proof, and in default of fresh evidence must remain so, it seems to

me to be so practical and to explain so well the existing evidence that I feel certain that he has discovered the true solution of the problem.

The writer has himself anticipated the objection that his theory is not quite consistent with the story of the pentathlon of Peleus. Too much weight should not be attached to the passage, and the explanation offered appears fairly adequate. The chief advantages of his theory are that it satisfactorily explains the method of reducing the numbers of wrestlers and shows the appropriateness of the terms *τριάς*, *τριαγμός*, etc., as applied to the pentathlon. The reduction of numbers gives the clue to the interpretation of a curious phrase which occurs in a victor-list published a few years ago.¹ Certain pentathletes are described as victorious *ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τριάδι*, others *οὐκ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ*. In the former case we may suppose that one competitor defeated all his rivals in three of the first four events, and therefore the continuation of the contest was unnecessary. In the latter case two or more competitors tied in the first four events and the contest was decided by wrestling, i.e. in the second *τριάς*. There is no more difficulty in supposing that the contest might be finished in the first four or even three events than there is in allowing a wrestler or boxer a 'walk over.'

The theory advocated by Captain Pihkala has a very practical application to the pentathlon of the modern Olympic Games. The five events are the broad jump, *diskos*, javelin, 200 metres race and 1500 metres. The competition is decided by marks as in a team race. The defect of the system is that weakness in a single event may put the best all-round man out of the running. Hence the competition has lost interest and it has been proposed to abolish it. Captain Pihkala in a letter to me suggests that interest in the pentathlon would be restored if a modification of the ancient system were introduced. The ancient system depends on the reduction of the number of competitors before the wrestling. In the modern pentathlon it would be difficult to decide which of the five ought to be the final event. Captain Pihkala suggests that it should be a sprint of 100 metres instead of 200 metres, and that all competitors should compete in the four events, that the performance of each should be compared with the performance of each of his competitors individually, and that only those who had qualified by not being beaten by any single competitor in three out of the first four events should be eligible to compete in a final sprint.

E. NORMAN GARDINER

¹ Unfortunately I have mislaid my reference to this inscription and so far have failed to discover it. Perhaps some reader may enlighten me.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Hermetica: The ancient Greek and Latin writings which contain religious or philosophic teachings attributed to Hermes Trismegistos; edited with English translation and notes by WALTER SCOTT. Vol. I: Introduction, Texts, and Translation. Pp. 549, with frontispiece. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. 30s.

An edition of the *Hermetica* has been greatly desired; we have here the first volume of one on a large scale (Volumes II and III are to contain the Commentary, Volume IV appendices and *testimonia*). Unfortunately the new editor, known to scholars for his edition of Herullanian texts, has died since the appearance of this volume; we must hope that the rest of his work will be forthcoming without delay.

These texts belong to that large category of pseudepigraphic literature which we find coming into existence in Hellenistic and later times; they presuppose as a fundamental axiom that what is true has been revealed, ages ago, to kings and the like. In this instance the "truth" consists of various elements, drawn from Platonism, from mystical Stoicism, in a smaller degree from Judaism and from Gnosticism, and on occasions from Christian sources, and combined by Greek-speaking thinkers in Egypt. It is recorded in a series of short tractates commonly known as the *Corpus Hermeticum*, in the Latin translation of the lost *λόγος τῆς αἰῶνος* preserved in the works ascribed to Apuleius under the name of *Asclepius*, and in quotations by Stobaeus and by other writers. Of these Prof. Scott has given us texts and translations; their inclusion in a volume is convenient, and would be of even more service had a more conservative treatment of the originals been adopted. It should not be forgotten that we are in danger of serious error if we assume that the writers of such works always thought clearly and expressed themselves in good and lucid language; emendations proposed in such texts may sometimes be improvements on the originals rather than on the text as given us by our manuscripts. This criticism one can hardly help making; for the diligence with which the work has been produced, and for the interesting and stimulating essays prefaced to the Greek our warmest thanks are due.

The Roman Questions of Plutarch; a new translation with introductory essays and a running commentary by H. J. ROSE. Pp. 220. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. 12s. 6d.

This is an important work by a scholar whose papers in various periodicals have materially advanced our knowledge of Greek and Roman religion. Of the introductory essays the first is devoted to the sources of the Questions, and gives a very reasonable view of that knotty problem; the second deals with its date, authenticity, and composition, and the third discusses Plutarch's attitude towards religion in an illuminating way. Prof. Rose there faces the question which many may ask.—Why does Plutarch treat the fantastic explanations he quotes as in any way probable? In the fourth and fifth essays he sets forth his views as to the oldest stratum of Roman religion and on certain special problems which arise in connection with the treatise. After these essays comes the translation, with which it might have been well to print the Greek text even if a new revision was not to be attempted, and notes which contain a mass of useful and well-digested information.

In all this there is very much to praise and little to criticise. On p. 81 Prof. Rose quotes and discusses the famous list of pairs of gods in Aulus Gellius xiii. 23. (22.) 2: we should like to know what he thinks of von Domaszewski's view (proposed in *Festschrift*

O. Hirschfeld, p. 243 ff.), that the first name in each pair represents a secondary power of the deity denoted by the second name: ¹ on p. 86 a reference should perhaps be added to Doubnier's interesting study in *Neue Jahrbücher*, xxvii. 1911, p. 321 ff., of the magical rites that lie behind ritual later appropriated to definite deities. Several slight misprints (p. 16 *percanum* for *percanum*, p. 34_{ss} p. 9 for p. 18, p. 57_{ss} *Myers* for *Myren*, p. 81 *Fraser* for *Fraser*, p. 110, *Valerius* for *Ferrus*, p. 199 *Fisch* for *Flinck*) should be corrected in the second edition which the book deserves. May we hope that Prof. Rose will edit more texts in this fashion?

Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs, publié sous la direction de J. BIDEZ, F. CUMONT, I. L. HEIBERG, et O. LAGERCRANTZ. I. Les Parisini décrits par HENRI LEBRÉ: en appendice, Les manuscrits des Coeranides et tables générales par MARIE DELCOURT. Pp. x + 320. III. Les manuscrits des îles Britanniques, décrits par DOROTHEA WALEY SINGER, avec la collaboration de ANNE ANDERSON et WILLIAM J. ANDERSON: en appendice, Les recettes alchimiques du *Codex Holkhamicus* éditées par OTTO LAGERCRANTZ. Pp. 84. Bruxelles: Maurice Lamerlin. Éditeur, 1924.

These volumes are the firstfruits of a scheme patronised by the *Union Académique Internationale* (which has not, it seems, yet fully realised the ideal its title suggests). It is to be a companion to the *Catalogus codicum astrologiarum graecorum*. Prof. Bidez, in a preface to the first volume, sketches well the nature of the subject of these texts, hitherto available chiefly in Berthelot's edition and important for the history of human thought. Much patient labour has been spent on this catalogue. The recipes in the *Codex Holkhamicus*, published by Prof. Lagercrantz in the third volume, are of some interest; they are written in Greek which seems very remote from the classical variety.

We must wish all good fortune to this enterprise.

A. D. N.

The Assyrian Herbal. By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON. Pp. xxvii + 294. London: Luzac & Co., 1924. 30s.

To enlarge upon the importance and the merits of this work would here be out of place, since it is eminently a book for the specialist in another branch, who will not hesitate to pronounce it a remarkable contribution to the study of ancient botany and medicine. Readers of this *Journal* will perhaps find their interest most involved in the etymologies suggested by the author for certain Greek plant-names; these he has since collected in the *Classical Review*, xxviii. p. 148 f. Owing to difficulties with which all are familiar the book has had to appear in autography, with indifferent success in reproduction, but it is far too good to be left unread for such extrinsic reasons.

The Hill of Athena. By H. H. POWERS. Pp. 105, with 2 plates. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924. 5s.

Climb into a Time-Machine, switch the chronometer to the year 1300 B.C. and visit the Acropolis of Athens. Return and visit it again up the same stairway about 850 B.C. Compare and contrast the reception you meet with and the company you consort with. Return again in 530 B.C., again in 440 B.C., again at the end of the fifth century, and finally in the Christian era on the day when St. Paul was preaching. This is the plan of Mr. Powers' book. It is a clear and thoughtful guide; he speaks simply and is never sententious; neither does he ruminate or moralise. We see the Acropolis rise into towers and temples, we hear the defence of practical government from the lips of Pericles, and the truth

¹ Cf. an interesting suggestion by H. Mattingly, *B.M.C. Rom. Emp.* I. p. lxxiii f.

about St. Paul from those who listened to him and then excused themselves for not staying to the end on the plea of a previous appointment. The conducted tour is over and we are back, all too soon, in 1925. Mr. Powers writes good English and, in a sense, has invented a new medium for the recording of the past. We shall look seats for his next trip.

S. C.

Zahl und Gestalt bei Platon und Aristoteles. By JULIUS STENZEL. Pp. viii + 144. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1924. 6 m.

This book embodies an able attempt to bring the theory of 'Form-Numbers' ascribed by Aristotle to Plato into connexion with the movement of thought underlying the later Platonic dialogues. That movement, according to Stenzel, is directed to overcoming the dualism of the Intelligible and the Sensible, by exhibiting the evolution of the latter from the former and presenting the world as an organic system. The generation of the numerical series from the One and the Indeterminate Dyad is explained as a mathematical analogue of the logical *διαιρέσις* (which, as Stenzel has urged in earlier works, is for Plato much more than a mere technique of classification). 'The numbers as Ideas are the principles of order which dialectically distinguish the units according to their place-value in the system.' Analogous again both to the discrete ordering of the qualitative field and to the arithmetical series in the sphere of discrete quantity is the generation of the spatial continuum, through the surface regarded as an atomic solid (the elementary triangles of the *Timæus*) and the line regarded as an atomic surface, from the point regarded as an atomic line (Alexander, *ad Metaph.* 982 a 19, etc.). Thus the *Sophist*, the *Lecture on the Good* (which expounded the number-theory), and the *Timæus* represent three parallel ways of approach to the question 'how the One becomes a Many.'

The attractiveness of Stenzel's conception lies in the fact that it brings into systematic connection almost all that we know of Plato's later thought, while it also exhibits in a clear light the continuity of that system on the one hand with the Eleatics and their successors the Atomists, on the other with the work of Aristotle (which Stenzel rightly regards less as a reaction against Platonism than as Platonism with a particular emphasis). In the detailed working out of his thesis Stenzel is compelled to rely extensively on speculative reconstruction, especially in dealing with the mathematical side; but at least he treats with respect such ancient evidence as is available, refusing to read into it, with Natorp, 'entire notions out of Whitehead's Universal Algebra.' His book is a serious study of one of the most obscure phases of Greek thought, and as such merits fuller discussion than can be accorded it here.

Aristoteles' praktische Philosophie (Ethik und Politik). By ALBERT GÖRGENS-MEYER, O. Ö. Professor an der Universität Königsberg. Pp. 264. Leipzig: Dieterich, 1922.

A short analysis and exposition of the *Nicomachean Ethics* and the *Politics*, which may be found useful by the beginner in philosophy who has a knowledge of German. All the statements made are authenticated by references to the passages on which they are based; but no Greek terms are used in the text, and all quotations are in German. The scope of the work precludes detailed discussion of controversial matter.

E. R. D.

Athos and its Monasteries. By the late P. W. HASLUCK. Pp. xii and 214, with numerous illustrations. London: Kegan Paul, 1924. 12s. 6d.

In spite of the unique interest of the monastic republic of Mount Athos and the amount that has been written about it, this is the first book to contain at once a clear account of the history and constitution of the community, of the architecture and construction of

the monasteries, and in a second part a description of the twenty sovereign monasteries adapted to be a guide to visitors on the spot. The illustrations consist of a map, such plans as are necessary to understand the architecture, some well-chosen photographs and a series of water-colour drawings made by the author, which give with great fidelity and considerable charm the effect of the monastic buildings. In the perhaps too brief accounts of the several monasteries we may single out for especial commendation the lists of building-dates, by which the visitor will be able to see the age of each part of the buildings as far as it is known. In a place where there has been such constant rebuilding with such fidelity to traditional methods, and where in consequence everything is apt to look older than it really is, such a list is most welcome. Obviously an account of the history and architecture of Athos in 214 pages must omit a good deal: the side of its history in which the author is least interested is the technicalities and details of monastic rule, and for any study of the *typika* of the monasteries and their relation to other rules the reader must look elsewhere. The consistent and careful accounts of the history of the administration of the community and of the architecture are the sides of the subject most fully treated, and it must be admitted that they are the most interesting and important. The remarks on the character and motives of the monks themselves are marked at once by insight and by a delightful modesty. Finally, we have a list of works consulted, an index and two glossaries, one of words in Latin, and a second of about three-quarters of the words in Greek script. Neither glossary has, except very rarely, references to the text, and the words in the Greek glossary are all but one or two explained in the text. The former should have been incorporated in the index, and the latter completed and made into a Greek index with references. In the Greek glossary we note that *dympneia* means not a *continuous service*, but an *all-night service*, that the meaning *relic-stand*—they are also used to support *skions*—is correct for *πυροστυλαίον* in some passages, but that on pp. 120 and 132 the word has its other meaning of a *guide-book to objects of worship*. *Priest in orders*, which is used to translate *leptēs* and *τεταρτάτος*, which properly means a *confessor*, is at least an odd expression. The book was very much wanted and may be warmly recommended.

Zwei Strömungen in der Attischen Kunst des V. Jahrhunderts. By CAET. BLEUDEL. Pp. 38, with 4 plates. Berlin: Josef Altmann, 1924.

Dr. Blümel's two currents are the architectural Doric and the pictorial Ionic: the one tending to find its expression in the half-structural metope and pediment, which, though dealing with figures in the round, confine themselves to a composition in two dimensions; the other in the more purely decorative frieze, which, limited to two dimensions only, seeks to create the illusion of roundness and depth.

In Attica in mid-fifth century these two streams intermingle, and we find ourselves, like fishes in Arothusa, tasting now salt, now sweet.

"Theseion," Nike temple, Parthenon, shield and base of the Parthenos, Erechtheion and other monuments are analysed one by one. We can give but a sketch of the results. The 'Theseion' frieze, with its metope-like and pediment-like composition, is found to be the fullest development of Doric decoration in relief, only the use of the frieze being borrowed from Ionic architecture; while the Parthenon pediments are dominated by an Ionic obliquity contrasting with the frontal or profile arrangement of each figure in, for example, the east pediment at Olympia. The frieze of the Parthenon displays group contours and other features of perspective painting. The Nike temple, of which Dr. Blümel has already produced an admirable study, presents a more complicated problem, since, apart from the generally admitted difference in date between frieze and balustrade, within the frieze itself different slabs are said by him to have been made at different times. A criticism of this attempt at division in time, as well as in style and composition, should properly be applied to that earlier study; nor would it seriously affect the present conclusions, for whether one be earlier than the others or not, the paratactic group of gods on the east frieze presents an instructive contrast to the wild free movement and foreshortening of certain of the fighting scenes.

A valuable piece of work, which gains additional interest from the publication, at the end, of a head of Athens, bought in Spain, and now in private possession in Berlin. This is assigned with great probability to a metope on the east of the Parthenon: the style is transitional between metopes and frieze. The stylisation of the hair is shown to be like that of the earlier Peirithoos at Olympia, though the value of this as evidence for a connexion between the temple of Zeus and the Parthenon is not easily gauged.

B. A.

Greek and Roman Sculpture in American Collections. By G. H. CHASE. Pp. xv + 222, with 262 illustrations. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1924. 31s. 6d.

In this publication of eight Lowell Institute lectures Dr. Chase has produced a book which should be widely read in America. Its appeal will, however, be more limited where the monuments discussed are inaccessible, because of the smallness of most of the illustrations.

Just as Kekulé illustrated his history of sculpture from the contents of the Berlin Museum, so here Dr. Chase begins each lecture by citing the more crucial works of art in other countries, and then proceeds to fit the American specimens into their places. With the general handling of the subject there is no fault to find. Division into periods is almost unavoidable in a course of lectures, and if there seems to be something wrong with a classification which places, for example, the Olympia sculptures and the Ludovisi Throne outside the Great Age, the fault lies in an attitude of mind common for many years not in America only, but also in this country. The darker age of the pre-Persian War period fares, as one would expect, badly indeed: 'Directors of museums and private collectors have very naturally preferred to purchase works of a later date, which make a more distinctly aesthetic appeal.'

A few points of detail call for comment. The head of the old woman from the north corner of the west pediment at Olympia (Fig. 50) is not so instructive a parallel to the old man or woman on the Boston Throne as certain vases, since it is a later restoration.

Early sculptors (p. 153) are said to be careful to represent completely what they attempt to portray. Not so much completely, as in an easily intelligible aspect: for, to take one of many examples, barely a half of the horse of each Dioscurus was shown on the metope of the Sicyonian treasury at Delphi. Nor, if one thinks of the Athenian treasury there, from an original contemporary with which the New York relief under discussion is derived, can the introduction of a tree into a relief be a mark of the Roman age alone.

The shepherdess in the Palazzo dei Conservatori appears, for the second time within a few years, without mention of her modern head.

The comparison instituted between the Villa Medici and Fogg Museum heads of Meleager (who is made a Scotsman), the conclusion from which is, that though we may like the Medici head better, the Fogg head is nearer the style of Scopas, runs counter to the fact that the Medici head, which, incidentally, is passionate, not sentimental, more closely resembles the fragments from Tegyra, while the other, fine though it is, has just that slightly academic treatment and brightness of expression considered by certain copyists to be desirable qualities in sculpture.

The position of the right arm in the New York statuette of Antioch (p. 118) is that attested by the coins and by other replicas, the only one which disagrees being the marble in the Vatican, where this arm is restored.

Three and similar small points only occur to me because there is little else to criticise adversely. Not often do lectures turn so well into a book.

B. A.

Stoicism and its Influence. By R. M. WENLEY. Pp. xi + 194. London: G. C. Harrap & Co., 1925. 5s.

The author of this volume of 'Our Debt to Greece and Rome' is Professor of Philosophy at the University of Michigan. His style is too much influenced by American journalism to be attractive, and now and then an inaccuracy escapes him (e.g. p. 13, 'Euclid' is misleading in a popular work, since the philosopher, not the mathematician, is meant; p. 57, he says of Gallio, 'whom St. Paul has immortalised,' which, of course, should be 'whom his encounter with St. Paul,' etc., or the like). But apart from these things, the book is distinctly good of its kind. Prof. Wenley is clearly an ardent student of philosophy, who brings sympathy, not mere erudition, to bear upon his difficult subject; he is a friend of all honest philosophers of whatever school, and the outspoken foe of what he calls 'Macaulayan lamium.' Also, it will not be his fault if the reader, however little acquainted with ancient history, does not clearly understand the environment in which Stoicism grew up; see, for instance, pp. 16 *esp.* 18, and the capital notes Nos. 4 and 12; the latter is a useful list of dates important for the progress of Individualism in antiquity. After a brief introductory chapter, he gives 'The Story of Stoicism,' clearly and well; the reviewer especially likes his treatment of Cicero, and of the interaction of Roman imperialism and religious and philosophical movements. He stops at Marcus Aurelius; 'by A.D. 180 the "classical" spirit had fled for ever.' The next chapter discusses 'Some Stoic dogmas,' making them as clear as such things can well be made to the general reader, and handling the relation of Stoic theory to practice incisively (p. 102). Then follows a chapter on 'Sequels,' which traces the influence, direct or otherwise, of Stoicism down to the present day, rightly connecting its continuance with the fact that 'the Stoic missionary (he is speaking particularly here of the eighteenth century) to reason and conscience had revealed universal truths manifest in every civilised society' (author's italics). He hopes in conclusion that he has succeeded in making plain 'the irony of treating Greek and Latin as "dead" languages, had they given us nothing but Stoicism.' Having thus delivered his message, he gives, by a happy thought, two bibliographies, one of some half-a-dozen books, including Zimmern's *Greek Commonwealth* and Dill's *Roman Society*, the other, for those who wish to go fully into the matter, beginning with Arnold's *Roman Stoicism* and completing its literature with a list of books published since 1910.

H. J. R.

Folklore Studies Ancient and Modern. By W. R. HALLIDAY. Pp. xv + 172. London: Methuen & Co., 1924. 7s. 6d.

This is one of the most delightful works it has ever fallen to the lot of the present reviewer to notice. Prof. Halliday has the rare gift of combining ingenuity and a pleasant style with sound scholarship; he is a folklorist of repute who does not allow folklore to run away with him, and a Grecian whose interest in things Hellenic is not bounded by any arbitrarily chosen date. To begin by saying the worst of his book,—which consists of essays from various publications, corrected and otherwise modified in detail,—there never was any such person as Gregory of Nazianzen (p. 51); p. 82, *πολιτικός* (*στῆχος*) does not mean 'political' but 'vulgar,' and Goldsmith did not write *John Gilpin*; Chap. III, one misses a reference to Saintyves, *Essais de folklore biblique*, Chap. II; and p. 145, n. 1, mention should be made of McDaniel's article, 'Tokens of an Evil Eye,' in *Classical Philology* for 1918. On p. 143, for 'jewel in its forehead' read 'in its head.' These slips, so far as I have observed, exhaust the list of demonstrable shortcomings.

The first essay, which treats of Gypsies in Turkey, is not of much direct interest to students of Greek culture as such; the rest are all more or less definitely within the scope of this *Journal*. The second, dealing with a curious carol in honour of St. Basil of Caesarea, contains an excellent account of the genesis and progress of the popular Christian legend concerning the death of Julian the Apostate, at the same time illustrating Prof. Halliday's favourite (and, as I believe, true) thesis that a great proportion of what passes for folklore is not of popular origin, but represents degraded literary tradition, or out-of-date science.

The third chapter, which gives translations of more carols, this time modern (the one in Chap. II is early Byzantine), should be read in conjunction with the fourth, on 'Games and Seasonal Songs,' since it illustrates an interesting survival in modern Greece of the ancient customs in this respect. Such survivals do exist, though their number and importance have been exaggerated, and it is well to have them studied in this careful fashion. The games discussed are all of types (like χαλκὸν μύρον, which is practically the same as blind-man's bluff) widely distributed among children, and in many cases representing faded ritual. Chap. V contains a good, though brief, discussion of snake-stones, ancient and mediaeval, the most interesting thesis being that two sources of the belief in them can be traced, one, Eastern, illustrated by the *dracunculæ*, the other, Western, by the adder-stone. The last essay deals with Philostratos' *Life of Apollonios*, rightly contending that the *Memoirs of Damis* never existed, or at least were not at all what Philostratos represents them to have been, and suggesting that the 'very ancient book in the British tongue,' on which Gouffrey of Monmouth professed to draw, was such another ghost-book.

H. J. R.

Mythology. By JANE ELLEN HARRISON. Pp. xx + 155, with 5 illustrations in text. London: Harrop & Co., 1925. 5s.

Another volume in the series entitled 'Our Debt to Greece and Rome.' The editor in a preface remarks very reasonably that 'what is characteristically Greek is not the original, crude material which the Greeks had in common with many other peoples, but their method of handling it.' Miss Harrison apparently does not agree with him. A Greekless reader will find very little in this book about mythology, but much of Miss Harrison's views concerning the oldest stratum of Greek religion. Thus we get Hermes originating from a stone pillar marking a grave (Chap. I), Poseidon 'projected' from seafaring Cretans and horse-breeding Libyans (Chap. II; the author does not trouble to inquire how this Minotaur-African deity came by his pure Greek name, 'Lord of Moisture,' for which see Carnoy in *Musée Belge*, xxviii. p. 175); Midas (p. 31) as a 'priest-dynast' who 'presides over an ass-worshipping tribe'; our old acquaintance the 'Pelagian' and 'matriarchal' Mountain-mother; the Emautes Daimon, and much more which may be read at greater length in *Prolegomena* and *Themis*. There is also a certain amount of Dr. Rendel Harris, a favour of Prof. Grace Macurdy's Hyperborean theory, and a seasoning of psychological terms. Right or wrong, nine-tenths of all this would have been better away, especially if the book had started where it now ends, with the assertion (p. 145) that the Greeks banished fear 'by the making of beautiful images,' and the student been told a great deal more of what those images were and what they signified to the average Greek.

H. J. R.

Aristotle's Metaphysics; a revised Text with Introduction and Commentary. By W. D. ROSS, Vol. I, pp. clxvi + 366. Vol. II, pp. 1-528. Clarendon Press, 1924. 48s.

The publication of these volumes is a notable event. To his enthusiasm for Aristotle Mr. Ross adds an almost infinite capacity for taking pains; and throughout this work—whether we turn to his incidental defence of Fitzgerald's canon; to his account of the MSS. of the *Metaphysics*, or to the discussion of the spheres in A8—we find models of scholarly and exhaustive argument. Nor has his enthusiasm destroyed balance of judgment; and if (as in mathematical discussions and in accounts of previous philosophers) we sometimes suspect in the general tone and treatment a too great tenderness for Aristotle, there are nevertheless candid admissions that he was in some matters capable of misapprehension and misstatement.

In the Introduction Mr. Ross deals with the structure of the *Metaphysics* in even greater detail than Bonitz, and on the whole defends him against Jaeger, though he admits that ZH6 'form a relatively independent whole.' He proceeds to a careful examination of what can be learnt from Aristotle about Socrates, Plato and the Platonists. On the

question of the 'historical' Socrates, he shows that Aristotle's evidence is against the view of Professors Burnet and Taylor; but he holds a middle position, and dexterously accepts what he finds valuable in their thesis. He is less convincing on the subject of Plato's Ideal Numbers. Though Mr. Ross wields an astonishing weight of detailed argument, there is perhaps more illumination, if less accuracy, in Professor Burnet's chapter in his *Greek Philosophy*; and I am not sure that Mr. Ross is quite fair to him in the Commentary (Vol. I, p. 206). He makes out a good case (p. lxxiii) against Bonitz' view that 'the numbers mediate between the Ideas, which are pure quality, and the *παθηματικά*, which are pure quantity'; but does he pay enough attention to Bonitz' statement (*Met.* p. 540) that these quaddible numbers cannot be quantities, but must be 'qualitates definitas quas quum ipse (sc. Plato) describere non possit, ad numerorum imaginem confugit'? But here we are seemingly doomed to partial failure, seeing that 'Aristotle's external and unsympathetic account' is in certain respects 'misleading' (i. 175). Similarly the account of Speusippus and Xenocrates is admitted to be largely conjectural, but it is remarkable how much of Aristotle's criticism Mr. Ross is able to refer to them. He then goes on to describe Aristotle's metaphysical doctrine in the manner of his previous book, from which some pages are reprinted with slight alterations; but he has expanded the account—especially the sections on God, and on the Individual, in Aristotle's philosophy. The account of the Categories has been rewritten, but the same view is expressed.

The Text is the best we have. Mr. Ross undertook a task from which Bonitz excused himself, and has collated E and A¹ again, frequently confirming Bekker against Christ, and reporting a number of new readings. He speaks rather more highly of E than does Bonitz; and he has also taken account of Vindobonensis phil. gr. C, which he found of great value, though formerly neglected. In emendation he has been rightly cautious, and sometimes supports the MSS. even against Bonitz—often by means of a change in punctuation. On the other hand, he has admitted some emendations by living scholars.

The fulness of the notes, and the wealth of references not only to the older commentators but to Jaeger and the moderns, provide some measure of the advance since Bonitz. To each chapter or section is prefixed an analysis which amounts almost to an abridged translation. In this, and in the disentangling of the more tortuous passages, Mr. Ross is at his best. His power of tersely summarising and criticising different interpretations is already known. He is least copious on difficulties of doctrine when Aristotle's words are themselves plain. For example, on Z10, 1036 a 2-8, the notes are inadequate; but there is a statement of the difficulty in the Introduction (p. cix), and if we do not admit the plea in the Preface that our patience is exhausted, at least Mr. Ross has withheld only such comments as could not replace independent thought by the reader. Even in this class there are notes, often delightfully concise and pointed (as on 1071 b 8) or collecting all the relevant passages in Aristotle. But when Mr. Ross finds Plato's doctrine of τὰ *παθηματικά* 'right with regard to the objects of geometry, and wrong with regard to those of arithmetic' (i. 186), has he considered the case of surds and irrationals?

There is a good Index to the Text, but that to the Introduction and Commentary is less complete. The volumes are most beautifully produced by the Clarendon Press.

H. B.

Album d'inscriptions attiques d'époque impériale. By PAUL GRAINDOR.
Vol. I, pp. vii + 78; Vol. II, Plates I^a to XC. Ghent: Van Rysselberghe & Rombaut; Paris: Champion, 1924.

These two volumes form fascicules 53 and 54 of the *Recueil* published by the Faculté de philosophie et lettres of Ghent University, of which Professor Graindor's recent *Morbes et textes antiques d'époque impériale* formed fasc. 50. The primary aim of the present work is to illustrate the rather complicated evolution of Greek letter forms in the Imperial period by giving facsimiles of a number of the best-dated inscriptions from a single city of importance; and 114 Athenian inscriptions have been selected for reproduction. They range from Augustus to the early fifth century, about half belonging to the second century;

most have been published in *I.G.* iii. or *I.G.* ii.², but 20 have only appeared in periodicals, and seven, from the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, are now published for the first time. The author follows the dating at which he arrived in 1921 in his *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'Empire*; and as dating is obviously vital for his purpose, an introductory note of twelve pages to Vol. I examines Kolbe's recent study of the Athenian chronology of this period. The rest of Vol. I comprises a list of the inscriptions selected, with notes on the writing, and a large number of revised readings, especially of the texts in *I.G.* iii.; in Gruntdor's opinion the numerous errors in the copies which Dittenberger used render a new edition of *I.G.* iii. imperative. The only texts published *in extenso* in Vol. I are the seven *inscripta*: they comprise three sets of fragments additional to existing ephebe lists: a dedication to Lucius Grat(tius?) Cilo, conceivably the poet mentioned by Ovid: a dedication by a cosmetes of Hadrian's time: a new example of the curses engraved by Herodes Atticus on the herms of his *εράφιστοι*: and a dedication to Κασσινος, in whom Gruntdor inclines to see Constantine the Great. Vol. II. contains the plates, most of them made from photographs of the originals, but a few from squeezes; many are admirably clear, but a few were photographed under difficulties, and in one or two cases ordinary eyes will require a magnifying glass. The scheme of the work is new, and it should be valuable to epigraphists.

The Greek Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt; a study in the history of civilisation. By CHARLES HENRY OULFATHER. Pp. viii and 104. University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, No. 9. Madison, 1923, to be obtained from the editor, University of Wisconsin. \$1.25.

This is in the first instance a list of the Greek literary Papyri which have come from Egypt, and it will be of the greatest value for those who are working at the history of Greek literature, for although it covers the same ground as Schubart's list in his *Einführung in der Papyruskunde* (1918), it is fuller and arranged better. The author seeks to base upon it some conclusions as to the history of civilisation in Greco-Roman Egypt, as far as the literary interests of the inhabitants of Egypt at the time show it, and therefore the book is a pendant to Professor Houtovtzeff's 'A large estate in Egypt in the third century A.C., a study in economic history' (No. 6 in the same series, 1922).

The number of literary texts recorded is at least 1167, which shows the steady growth of our acquisitions since Sir Frederick Kenyon writing in 1918 gave the number at about 920. The list has been made with the greatest care, and I have noted only two necessary corrections: in the entry No. 248 'Elegiac' should be written for 'Hexameter,' and on page 71 'the discovery of the famous Epio of Choerilus' should be corrected to something like 'the discovery of the existence etc. at that time,' for the fragment contains only the titles of Choerilus' poems, probably from the end of a roll. The value of the list is enhanced by a table of the discoveries arranged in the chronological order of their writing, which shows that we have no less than 73 fragments of the third century B.C., 4 of cent. 2-2, and 55 of the second century.

But the conclusions which the author seeks to draw do not always carry conviction. The chief of them is, that literary texts written on the *verso* of documents that are of an official nature on the *recto* belonged to school libraries; but he seems to force the documents too far. All that we can safely say is, that these were cheap texts. It is true that Euripides was a school author; but is it likely that it was his popularity that saved from oblivion the Medea of Neophron? Or that it was the study of music in schools which was responsible for the appearance of Alceus, Archilochus, and Pindar? Is it not more likely that much has come from the libraries of men with literary tastes?

Mr. Oulfather would also regard the list of authors printed by Dr. M. Norsa from an Oxyrhynchian Papyrus in *Aegyptus*, ii. 17-20 as one of works to be read in schools. This list contains several puzzles, and appears to have been made carelessly; but in spite of some difficulties it seems better to regard the twenty volumes of Ithologues, and those of Xenophon, Homer, Menander, Euripides, Aristophanes, and others, not so much as school-books as the contents of the private library of a man with literary tastes (who was perhaps

even a schoolmaster), or of a bookshop. The number of the duplicates in the list points to one of these, and hardly to the list of '*desiderata*' which Dr. Sabbadini suggests in the observations which he has appended to Norsa's article. At all events Greek culture was widely diffused in Egypt, and Mr. Oikfader has deserved well of scholars for printing what it is to be hoped is only the first instalment of his studies in Papyrology.

J. U. P.

Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit. Reihe A: Regesten. Abt. I. 1 Teil: Regesten von 565-1025. Bearbeitet von FRANZ DÖLGER. Pp. xxix + 105. München und Berlin: R. Oldenbourg, 1924.

This is the first instalment of the great collection, originally planned by Krambacher at the London Congress of 1864. As now presented to the public, the plan embraces summaries of the Imperial, Patriarchal, official, ecclesiastical and private documents, followed by a series of volumes of documents and a 'systematic exposition' of the 'documentary system of the Eastern Roman Empire.' The importance of such a collection for the study of Byzantine history is obvious. The value of brief German summaries of Greek documents is more open to criticism. Historians will in any case require to read the document in full in the original language, for 'translators'—and still more epitomisers—are 'traitors,' as the Italian proverb says. A similar criticism applies, for example, to the summaries by Predelli of the Venetian *Commemoriali*, yet in that case the language question was less difficult. These *Regesten* will, however, be very useful as an index for reference to the original documents, and, if we may judge from this section, which goes from the accession of Justin II to the death of Basil 'the Bulgar-slayer,' have been carefully and laboriously compiled. It is pointed out that the period from 311 to 476 has been already largely covered by the work of Seeck, published in 1919. An elaborate bibliography of the principal sources precedes this instalment.

W. M.

Ἱστορία τῆς Χίου. Τόμος Β'. By GEORGIOS I. ZOLOTAS. Pp. xxxix + 775. Athens: Τύποις Π. Δ. Σακελλαρίου, 1924. Dr. 50.

The present, which is really the third volume of this great work on Chios, deals with the history of the island from the earliest times through the Greek, Macedonian, Roman, Byzantine and Genoese periods down to the Turkish conquest in 1566. Like those parts already reviewed,¹ it shows great local knowledge, besides a wide range of reading in the multifarious literature, including documents from the Genoese and Venetian archives, relating to the mediæval history of Chios. This last is to British readers the most interesting period of Chiot story. For if the mystic island, as the author, following an ancient tradition, is inclined to believe, was the birthplace, or home, of Homer—a tradition to which the *Δαρκαλόπετρα*, really an altar of Cybele, owes its local name of the 'school' or 'stone of Homer'—if Chios was in ancient, as in modern times, famous for its commercial activity, it furnished in the Middle Ages an unique example of government by a chartered company, of which British India and British South Africa have been modern instances. No work has hitherto treated the government of Chios by the *maona* of the Gustiniani so systematically, although, as the copious bibliography reminds us, much had been published about this island. As is the case with Athens, the darkest and least-known period of Chian history is the Byzantine, illuminated, however, by the foundation of the famous, and still extant, *Néa Moad*, about which ten golden bulls are given here. It is interesting to note that the surname of its founder, the Emperor Constantine Monomáchos, is still borne by a Chian torrent, just as the raid of Roger de Flor's Catalans has bequeathed the name, τὰ Κοραλαίικα, to a place in the island; and that of the Turkish Admiral, Barbarossa, is still perpetuated on the local map.

¹ *J.H.S.*, XLIII 70; xlv, 116.

An interesting contrast might be drawn between the rule of the Genoese Gattilusio in Lesbos and that of the Genoese trading company in Chios. It would be, so far as the Greeks were concerned, favourable to the former, who came not as conquerors but as relatives by marriage and allies of the Greek Emperor, and who became hellenised as no other Latin rulers of the Levant. In Chios, the company's ill-treatment of the Greeks forced them to seek refuge on the opposite Turkish coast, and for the last 200 years of its rule there is no mention of a Greek Metropolitan, who was represented by a functionary called *Δέσποτς*, because he exercised 'the rights' of the Oecumenical Patriarch. Whereas, too, in Mytilene the castle with its interesting Gattilusian heraldry and inscriptions has been preserved, in Chios the present writer found that the refugees had recently destroyed much of the castle, although the museum shelters many of those Latin monuments, of which the late F. W. Hasluck wrote, and those on private houses have been preserved by the inhabitants, justly proud, as this remarkable book proves, of the twice millennial history of their island, 'famous,' as Pachymeres wrote in unconscious forecast of the massacre of 1822, 'for its marvellous beauty, but also for its tragic fate.' That will be told in the next volume.

W. M.

Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γεωργίας. Τόμος Τρίτος (1821-1833). By DEM. I. ΖΟΓΡΑΦΗΣ. Pp. 397. Athens, 1924.

The third volume¹ of this valuable contribution to the economic history of modern Greece consists of three parts, first a review of the fiscal and agricultural policy of the period, second a long summary of the observations about Greek agriculture contained in Thiersch's well-known treatise, *De l'état actuel de la Grèce*, published in 1833, and third a reprint of three papers by Stéphanos Xénos, Lamprinides and the learned Zantiote scholar, De Blüze on the history of the currant and the first Greek potatoes. The author points out in the first part that, while disapproving the Turkish tithe system (of which Finlay had such a bitter experience and against which he constantly inveighed in his *Times* correspondence), the first Greek Government maintained it amidst the pressing difficulties of the struggle for independence. Thiersch's remarks on deforestation still have practical value. Pelion, however, is still well-wooded, but the present writer, spending last summer there, never found the 'pine,' which Euripides and Catullus with poetic licence represented as growing there. We are reminded that the first mention of the currant is found early in the fourteenth century in Pegolotti, and Lamprinides advances the plausible theory that the Frankish rulers of Greece introduced it into Western Europe (p. 323)—not the least of their services. As for the potato, if Capo d'Istria first imported it into free Greece, it was planted by Arlides in Corfu in 1800 (p. 352), and became general there in 1811.

W. M.

Greek Athletics. By F. A. WRIGHT. Pp. 122, with 8 plates. London: Jonathan Cape, 1925. 4s. 6d.

This is an interesting and suggestive but somewhat inaccurate little book. The chapters on Athletics, Military Training and Physical Education are mostly summaries of parts of three books named in the Bibliography, interspersed with much shrewd comment but with some misstatement and exaggeration. The author under-estimates the value of the athletic competition and over-estimates that of the physical education. It is not true that Sparta ever forbade her citizens to take part in the Great Games, or even discouraged them from doing so. The race in armour was not commonly called 'the Shield,' a name apparently given to a very different competition at Argos. It is not correct to describe wrestling as 'preserved from the disease of professionalism.' Because Isobarmachia took a constitutional before breakfast, it does not follow that the average Athenian followed this practice. Nor is it fair to compare the athlete represented by Greek sculptors

¹ Cf. *J.H.S.*, xliii, 70; xlii, 117.

with the middle-aged townsman of to-day. The real comparison should be with the athletes represented by Dr. Tait McKentle.

The last chapter is mostly a translation of Galen's treatise on 'the Small Ball.' The author gives a somewhat unsatisfactory explanation of the Ball Game represented on the recently discovered Athenian stele. A more serious fault is his wild mistranslation of a well-known passage of Antiphanes on some ball game, which might mislead the reader who did not know the original into believing that here at last we had conclusive literary evidence of a Greek game of bat and ball.

The book, however, is not intended for the student: it is a book with a purpose and is dedicated to the Gymnastic Instructors of His Majesty's Army. Its purpose is to prove that the average Greek of the fifth century was superior physically to the average man of to-day, that he owed this superiority to his scientific system of physical training, and that if we would attain the same physical perfection we must follow his system. It is, in short, the teaching set forth more than ten years ago by Mrs. Diana Watts, including what we may call her 'Gospel of the Diaphragm.' To discuss these questions would be interesting but lies outside the scope of this *Journal*.

E. N. G.

Milet. Herausgegeben von THEODOR WIEGAND. Bd. I. Heft 7. Der Südmarkt und die benachbarten Baulagen. By H. KNAACKFUSS. Pp. 360, with 284 illustrations. Berlin: Schöts & Parrhasius, 1924.

This fresh instalment of the definitive publication of Dr. Wiegand's excavations at Miletus is the most bulky volume that has yet appeared in the series. It runs to nearly 360 pages, with thirty plates and almost three hundred text illustrations, and continues, with detailed descriptions and plans of the South Market, Magazines, Latrines, Sarcophagi and other remains of adjacent buildings, the publication of the great complex of Hellenistic and Roman structures which occupies the eastern portion of the city site. The North Market and the Bouleuterion, which stood to the south of it, have been the subjects of volumes previously issued: now we have what lay south again of the Bouleuterion and the small area of limestone rock on which it was built—an island of firm ground in an expanse of deep alluvium which nowadays is mostly marsh-land and partly flooded in winter and early spring. For this reason it has apparently been impracticable to search the sites of either of the Markets below the Hellenistic level; and probably it would be useless to attempt this, even if practicable. The result is that we have, in this instalment of the publication (as indeed in all the other instalments issued so far), not the Hellenic Miletus, 'First Foundation of Ionia and Mother of many and great cities in Pontus and Egypt and many parts of the civilised world,' as its proud civic formula ran down to late Roman times, but remains of an age when the city's distinction had vanished with her primacy—when, after a last claim to give law to herself had failed before Alexander, her life lapsed into the common and rather unexciting grooves of the Eastern Greek World. While, therefore, there is much for the architect in the many pages by Dr. Knaackfuss, there is very little for students of other branches of archaeology, and, disappointingly, no important recovery of art treasures. Nor, it must be confessed, do the inscriptions, fully and carefully edited by Dr. Albert Rehm, add anything very notable to our knowledge. The earliest go back to Antiochus, son of Seleucus Nicator; but there are no more Hellenistic pacts with other towns, of which volumes previously issued have given fresh examples. A text on the local cult of Rome, which raises problems of minor importance, hardly redeems a long succession of honorific dedications to Emperors. One only admires the more the faithful labour lavished first on the excavation of such sites as those of the Milesian markets, and subsequently on the publication of their results.

Select Passages illustrating Neo-Platonism, translated with an introduction by E. R. Dodds. Pp. 127. S.P.C.K., 1923. 5s.

This volume is the first of a series dealing with non-Jewish religious systems contemporary with the beginnings of Christianity. The series could not have made a better start. Professor Dodds has translated sixty-eight extracts, the bulk of them from Plotinus, seven from Proclus and a few from Porphyry and others. The versions are exact, lucid, and, where the Greek requires it, extremely eloquent. One cannot always feel sure of the precise meaning of so crabbed a writer as Plotinus, but in doubtful passages second, if not first, thoughts almost always convinced the reviewer that Professor Dodds was right. A comparison of these renderings with Mr. MacKenna's noble translation suggests that they keep closer to the Greek without thereby losing any grace. Twentieth-century versions of Plotinus are certainly a vast improvement upon the original. Professor Dodds rejects a good many of the German textual alterations, but introduces several excellent emendations of his own, some of which have already been published elsewhere. It seems doubtful, however, if in *Enn.* iii. 2. 15 his $\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\chi\omega\acute{\iota}$ <εὐ>ιστοῦς *συμπραγματεύει* is right. The odds are against the correctness of his cure for a troublesome passage in *Enn.* v. 8. 4; possibly $\phi\eta\sigma\iota$ should be read for $\phi\eta\sigma\iota$. But it is not fair to dwell upon a few questionable alterations when the majority are so convincing.

Professor Dodds' brief notes are as good as his translation and tell the reader exactly what he wants to know. A little further explanation of the passages from Proclus on pp. 61 and 62 is perhaps desirable. They are very hard and will puzzle anyone but an expert. And when Professor Dodds says that 'the "gods" of Proclus are simply the series of self-subsistent unities co-ordinate with the One,' is *co-ordinate* quite the right word? The One is *exi generis* and should have no co-ordinates. The introduction of twenty-three pages is informative and stimulating. It puts very clearly the point of view and method of Plotinus without concealing the difficulties or, as some would say, the inconsistencies of his doctrine. In the reviewer's opinion the principal criticisms of Caird, even though he may have been guilty of 'serious misconceptions of the system as a whole,' are unanswerable. Section vii of the Introduction, dealing with the relations between Neo-Platonism and Christianity, is a masterpiece of lucidity and compression.

J. H. S.

Der eleatische Satz vom Widerspruch. By SYENØ RANULF. Pp. 224. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1924.

This dissertation is primarily concerned with the manner, not the matter, of Greek philosophic thought. The author submits to an exhaustive examination seven of Plato's earlier dialogues and decides that there is scarcely a single argument to be found in them which does not contain some fallacy. The faults are mostly due to what he calls 'die Logik der absoluten Vieldeutigkeit,' the peculiarity of which is that it works with notions having several meanings and in the course of argument recklessly substitutes one meaning for another, in violation of 'das Prinzip des Prodikos' or the due distinction between the different senses of words. 'This 'logic of ambiguity,' the author holds, infects the greater part of Greek thought down to Aristotle, whose life's work was largely a struggle against it.' In the light of this 'logic' he investigates puzzles like those of Zeno and 'The Liar' with much acuteness and success. But he is not always convincing. He argues (p. 192) that, whereas the moderns reach an 'absolut vieldeutigen Begriff' by abstracting the common characteristic underlying the various possible applications of a particular concept, the ancients, on the contrary, formed such a notion by lumping together into one all its possible senses. It is extremely doubtful if this is true, for example, of the Platonic ideas, which according to the author are concepts of the 'absolut vieldeutigen' type. Ranulf certainly proves the wide range of a particular kind of faulty reasoning in Greek thought, but we do not think that his theoretical results are as novel as he supposes. For, after all, 'die Logik der absoluten Vieldeutigkeit' seems merely a fine name for a perfectly familiar class of error. Ranulf's translations from Greek are sometimes incorrect. For instance, on p. 152 he renders $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\mu\eta\ \delta\epsilon\chi\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ (*Republic*, 479A) by 'niemals zurück.

haltenden,' and consequently muddles the whole sentence. On the next page his translation of *ἐπειδὴ ποθὲρ* (*Rep.* 524C) certainly suggests that he is treating *ποθὲρ* as a relative.

J. H. S.

A Handbook of Greek Black-figured Vases, with a chapter on the Red-figured Southern Italian Vases. By JOSEPH CLARK HOPPIN. Pp. xxiii + 509. With numerous illustrations. Paris: Libr. Edouard Champion, 1924.

The tragic circumstances in which this volume was completed will be known to all who read the obituary notice in *The Times* of a few months back. We can only regard Hoppin's lamented death as a merciful release from hopeless suffering, but his loss, as colleague and friend, will not easily be replaced. It was felt when his monumental work on the Attic Red-figured Vases appeared that another on the Black-figured was urgently needed, and we have much cause for thankfulness that in spite of great difficulties he should have been able to bring it to completion. By wisely adding a chapter on the few signed vases of Southern Italy he has now given us a complete record of the work of the Greek vase-painters from Aristonothos to Lasimos, and, what is even more valuable, almost every signed example has now been adequately reproduced. Few can realise the amount of labour and correspondence, often fruitless, which this must have entailed.

The plan followed in the work is practically the same as that of the previous work on the Red-figured Vases, with a few slight improvements, notably the addition at the head of every page of the artist's name under discussion. The omission of this detail in the earlier work was a serious hindrance to its usefulness. The description of each individual vase is a model of conciseness and completeness, and the photographic illustrations (which are mostly the work of Mr. Fleming and M. Giraudon) are of uniform excellence. Exhaustive use of the book may yet bring to light some errors or defects, but in a preliminary perusal nothing has presented itself for detailed criticism.

The Hope Vases, a Catalogue and a discussion, with Introduction on the history of the Collection and on Late Attic and South Italian Vases. By E. M. W. TILLYARD. Pp. x + 180; 43 plates. Cambridge: University Press, 1923.

Mr. Tillyard's Catalogue and discussion of the Hope Collection of Greek Vases is a very valuable contribution to Greek ceramography. It is, as the title suggests, much more than a mere catalogue *raisonné*, and the twenty introductory pages form excellent reading. They deal firstly with the history of the collection, and secondly with the classification of the Late Attic and South Italian vases, to which fabrics the majority of the collection belonged. The latter included 337 items, ranging from Corinthian wares to late Italian and Bucchero fabrics. Mr. Tillyard was fortunate in gaining access to Deepdene before the war and the subsequent dispersion of the collection, and is probably the only scholar who has had the chance of studying it in its entirety, for it was only opened to students in 1909, and the sale took place in 1917. Originally consisting (according to Millin) of 1500 specimens, it was reduced to about 300 during its sojourn at Deepdene, chiefly by sales of inferior specimens. Mr. Tillyard thinks that about two-thirds of the more important vases of the second Hamilton Collection, as purchased by Thomas Hope and previously illustrated by Tischbein, remained in the Hope Collection. The *pièce de résistance* is, of course, the Orestes Krater, which has now found a home in the British Museum; another treasure was the Taleides amphora, now in Lord Cowdray's possession. Mr. Tillyard's interesting study of the late Attic and South Italian fabrics and their interdependence is most illuminating and deserves careful perusal.

Greek Vase-Painting (*Peintures de vases grecques*). By GOTTFRIED VON LUCKEN. Pp. 16, with 120 plates. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1921.

This volume contains 120 plates produced by the process of orthophotography, giving a selection of vases, many of which were previously unpublished, from the Berlin Collection.

and those of Vienna, to which a few are added from other museums. It is the compilation of a German scholar, to whom are due the 16 introductory pages of text; the plates were prepared in Berlin, and the volume was published in Holland; and, finally, the text is written in a curious variety of the English language. The idea of producing photographs of Greek vases free from the usual troublesome distortions and reflections of light is an excellent one, and seems to have been carried out with success by means of the patent orthophotographic process, which is not, however, explained in detail, probably of deliberate intention. If, as may be presumed, it is intended as a general introduction to the achievements of Greek vase-painting, it seems a pity that the scope of the volume should be limited to a rather second-rate series of vases; but we are glad to have the dainty Berlin vase with the lady in the swing and the 'stroll in the sunshine' (Pls. 18, 19 = No. 2589), the Caeretan hydria with the return of Hephaistos (Pls. 62-63), and the amphora with Seilenos and Hermes (Pl. 52 = Berlin 6100). There are also two interesting vases from the Cabeirion at Thebes with caricature subjects. In the 'Index' (which is really a Table of Contents) nearly all the vases are classified either as 'dishes' or 'vessels'; the former appear to be what we know as kylikes, the latter includes everything that is not a drinking-cup! It is a pity that the editor did not get his introduction revised by someone more familiar with the English language; we might have been spared many eccentricities of spelling, such as 'satyre,' 'uncorporal,' 'jesture,' and also of phraseology.

Piracy in the Ancient World; an Essay in Mediterranean History. By H. ORMEROD. Pp. 286. University of Liverpool Press, 1924. 10s. 6d.

Ancient pirates have long escaped the modern investigator, but they now lie securely bagged in Prof. Ormerod's book, who has made a drive upon them from all quarters *à la* Pompey. Scarcely a spar from ancient tradition has escaped the author's attention. To his list of pirate exploits might be added notices of corsairs hovering round Thasos in the time of Archilochus (*I.G.* xii. 5, 445, l. 51) and molesting Athenian traffic in the fourth century (*I.G.* ii. 3, 141). Among the defences against the sea-rovers the *πύργος* of Teos (*C.I.G.* 3063) perhaps should be included, and mention might be made of the *Λιμένες κλειροί*, i.e. harbours contained within the lines of the city-walls (as at modern Candia), which were a characteristic type of early Greek fortification. In reference to Delos, Strabo does not say that this port ever *did* handle tens of thousands of slaves in a day, but that it *could* do so; the date of the treaty of Misenum is 39, not 38 B.C.; and 'bêtes noires' means, not 'black beasts' but 'stupid blacks.' But these criticisms are mere spindrift. Prof. Ormerod has ransacked ancient authors and inscriptions, and the facts thus amassed he has handled with exemplary sobriety, though with such a subject he must surely have been tempted to improve upon truth and transport us into film-land. In addition, he has provided ancient piracy with its proper geographic and political setting. Perhaps the best part of his book is his vivid description of the conditions of Mediterranean navigation, with a wealth of illustrations from Turkish as well as ancient times, and his clear-cut picture of Cilicia Trachea with its crows' nests a thousand feet above the sea. On two small points our curiosity remains unsatisfied: did the pirates study the alternation of land and sea breeze which is such a marked feature of the Mediterranean summer, and did they contribute to the discovery of the lateen sail, which already in mediaeval times was displacing the square rig on Mediterranean waters? But perhaps these questions must remain unanswered for lack of evidence.

Chapter II goes a long way to explain the failure of ancient governments to cope with the pirate nuisance. These governments were singularly slow to devise substitutes for *στράτα* or debt-collecting reprisals: they secretly abetted the slave trade and openly encouraged privateering; and from the fourth century they relied largely on mercenary soldiers, who between the land campaigns took to the water like a crocodile. Only Athens, Rhodes and the Roman Empire emerge with credit from Prof. Ormerod's survey, which sheds an unpleasant sidelight on ancient state-craft. Altogether, the present volume will come as a shock to those who believe that the ancients were such nice people, but to those who are not afraid of realism it will be a truly illuminating book.

Thessalische Dialektgeographie. By REIN VAN DER VELDE. Pp. xii + 182, with 6 maps. Nijmegen-Utrecht: N. V. Dekker & van de Vegt en J. W. van Leeuwen, 1924.

In this dissertation for a Doctorate in the University of Nijmegen the author seeks to analyse the Thessalian dialect with a view to determining the existence and extent of local peculiarities, and so discovering the relative strength of the racial influences operative within the borders of Thessaly.

After a concise bibliography, he deals rapidly in two short chapters with the phenomenon of speech-intermixture and the aims and methods of 'dialect-geography' in general. A brief review follows of the various strata—Pelasgian, Achaean, Aeolian, Boeotian and Thessalian proper—composing the population of Thessaly, and of their influence on the Thessalian dialect, while Chapter IV contains a bibliographical survey of the epigraphical evidence from which practically all our knowledge of that dialect is derived. In the next four chapters, which form the main body of the work, this evidence is examined in detail from the point of view of phonetics, accentuation, syntax and significant words, and the results of the inquiry are clearly presented in a series of tables and maps. A concluding chapter summarises the influences discernible in the language of the several districts of Thessaly.

The work, which appears to have been carried out with care and thoroughness, cannot fail to be of interest alike to philologists and to historians, and it will, we may hope, stimulate similar inquiries in other fields.

The Legacy of the Ancient World. By PROFESSOR DE BUCHÉ. Pp. xvi + 462. London and New York: Macdonald and Evans, 1924. 15s.

This is a book of good quality: it is well thought out and plainly written; but it is quite definitely dull. The writer has surveyed history from early Egypt to the Renaissance with the outlook of a philosopher and the style of a guide-book. Most of the episodes, instances, and quotations so bravely gleaned for us by Murray, Zimmern, Livingstone, and the other protagonists reappear in this book and, search as one will, one can find little new. The book is little more than a handbook and, as such, not above the average: in some respects it is considerably worse. Thus ancient Crete has four pages, while the 'Religion of Israel' has thirty-six; Sparta is described as if it had always been Lysurgan (p. 111), while Greek religion with all its richness of imagination and strong intellectuality is hardly mentioned. The reader is given practically no account of Greek art or its influence on Greek life:—'Let him visit the Elgin Room and the galleries of our National Museum,' says the author in his preface. His sympathies, I suspect, are more with the Hebraic than with the Hellenic legacy.

S. C.

Plato's Euthyphro, Apology of Socrates, and Crito. Edited with notes by JOHN BURNET. Pp. vii + Greek text (unpaged) + 220. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. 8s. 6d. net.

Classical students of all grades and varieties will rejoice that Prof. Burnet has found time to follow up his exemplary edition of the *Phaedo* with this complementary volume. The commentary is conceived on precisely the same lines as that on the *Phaedo*, and is marked by the same virtues. It is concise, lucid, and well-proportioned; and the judicious reader will find again and again that an apposite parallel makes further comment unnecessary. Prof. Burnet's mastery of the Platonic idiom is evident on every page. The competent Greek scholar who is not a specialist in Plato will find here precisely the assistance which he requires for the understanding of the texts.

But here, as in the edition of the *Phaedo*, there is also another motive. Prof. Burnet tells us that the book 'is conceived as part of a larger enterprise, that of replacing Socrates in the historical setting to which he really belongs.' The general thesis is not restated here. It was admirably, if provocatively, stated in the 'Introduction' to the earlier volume, and further developed, not without some slight modification, in *Greek Philosophy, Part I.* Here

the thesis is verified and substantiated in detail, partly in the introductory notes prefacing each section of the commentary, but more by incidental observations contained in the notes on particular passages. No one who wishes to form a fair estimate of Prof. Burnet's position in regard to this great and still unsettled problem can afford to ignore this volume. We say this with emphasis, because there is a regrettable tendency noticeable in the many writers on Plato to ignore books which look like 'School Editions.' German scholars, for instance, probably for this reason, seem largely to have ignored both Riddell's *Digest of Platonic Idiom* and Burnet's *Phaedo*.

The revolution which Prof. Burnet seeks to introduce into Platonic exposition is, shortly, this: that *prima facie*, at least, statements made by Plato about Socrates, including opinions put into his mouth, are to be taken as historically true; that, instead of asking for proof that any of it is Socratic, we shall demand proof rather that any of it is non-Socratic. However serious the qualification implied in the words '*prima facie*' may turn out to be, we are convinced that this is the right principle, and that the revolution will be a healthy one. We look, therefore, for most important results from these commentaries, results which will be gradually apparent as a new generation of students, brought up on them, turns and rends the work of its forbears.

J. L. S.

Herodotus. By T. R. GLOVER. Pp. xiii + 301. Published by the Cambridge University Press for the University of California Press, 1924. 18s.

The eight chapters of this book were originally delivered in the form of lectures to the University of California. Dr. Glover's method of expounding Herodotus to his hearers was not to sustain any thesis about him, or to dissect and classify him shred by shred, but to imitate him, and he has proved himself *δρῶν Ἡροδοτίζων*. Like his prototype, he 'craves for excursions,' and flits in a somewhat bewildering manner from topic to topic; *more Herodotee*, he is studiously non-committal on most controversial points, though he defends Herodotus' piety, good faith and originality as stoutly as Herodotus stood up for Athens in the Persian Wars; again, he displays the same wide interest in the works of men and an equally pervasive good-humour. In a work which does not aim at laborious exactitude criticism on points of detail need not be pressed. It is unnecessary to quarrel with Dr. Glover that Herodotus makes the Danube and the Rhone intersect, or that the geographical work attributed to Hecataeus was a forgery—the extant fragments tell distinctly in favour of its genuineness,—and it is becoming out-of-date to deride 'Spanish-American versions of liberty.' In the chapter on Herodotus' attitude to the gods we miss a reference to the most interesting of all the religious topics which Herodotus touches upon, the problem of heaven-sent evil. But our comments are in danger of becoming Thucydidean. We therefore shall end by repeating that the present book faithfully reproduces the *ŷφος* of Herodotus, and will excite in its readers the proper mental complex for appreciating Herodotus himself.

Platon's Leben. By ERNST HOWALD. Pp. 109. Zürich: Seldwyla, 1923. 4m. 80.

Dr. Howald's short and impressionist sketch of Plato's Life is based, as he informs us, on a series of public lectures given in the summer of 1922. The view adopted turns mainly on a rather arbitrary interpretation of the early and middle dialogues. It involves the almost complete disappearance of Plato the philosopher behind Plato the erotic and mystic, to whom is offered as foil a rationalistic Socrates. Many things are self-evident to Dr. Howald—especially that this and that in the dialogues has nothing whatever to do with the real Socrates—which a self-respecting student will hardly take on his bare assertion; and those who are accustomed to think of Plato as a philosopher will not readily sympathise with a view which makes so little attempt to follow Plato in his speculations. We should be sorry if Dr. Howald's version of Platonism gained any extensive currency; but this brochure gives little ground for fearing that it may do so.

J. L. S.

Das Sokratische Nichtwissen in Platons ersten Dialogen. By MAX HIESTAND. Pp. 110. Zürich: Seldwyla, 1923. 7m. 50.

Dr. Hiestand undertakes a careful and detailed examination of what he regards as the earliest type of Platonic dialogue, viz. of the shorter dialogues of the earlier period which exhibit Socrates as himself professing ignorance and as convicting by argument of ignorance an interlocutor credited by himself or by others with knowledge. Under this rubric he brings five dialogues, *Ion*, *Hippias Minor*, *Laches*, *Charmides*, *Euthyphro*. He recognises two other groups of early dialogues:—(1) the longer dialogues, in which Socrates meets the Sophists and two opposed views are in real conflict; (2) the first essays in teaching, in which Socrates admits knowledge of a kind and expounds it to a friendly audience. The three groups belong, he thinks, mainly to different times, though they may to some extent overlap.

He analyses the argument of each of his five dialogues, and sets out in each case the main principles on which the argument turns. He considers the provenance and interrelation of the principles, the tendency of the argument and its results, showing how far Plato's Socrates is really a *Nichtwaiser* and by what means his occasional assumption of knowledge is concealed and minimised. Later he puts the various Socratic theses together, and seeks to show that they come to very little and are certainly not a suitable foundation for the Platonic philosophy.

So far Dr. Hiestand seems to us to have carried through a modest and limited task thoroughly and with intelligence. His concluding arguments are of more doubtful value. On this rather narrow basis he seeks to construct a representation of the historic Socrates: he does little more, however, than repeat H. Mair's views, with certain alterations of emphasis for closer accommodation with the previous discussion. Inevitably his basis is too narrow: for a reasoned view he would have needed to undertake a much fuller examination of the *Apology*, and at least some discussion of the evidence of Aristophanes, Xenophon, and Aristotle, to say nothing of the other dialogues of Plato. It is a pity that he spoils a promising inductive inquiry by a hasty and dogmatic conclusion. Dr. Hiestand needs himself to learn the lesson of the Socratic *Nichtwissen*.

J. L. S.

Aristoteles: Kleine Naturwissenschaftliche Schriften (Parva Naturalia).
Übersetzt von EGGEN ROLFFS. Pp. x + 158. Leipzig: Meiner, 1924 (Philosophische Bibliothek. Bd. 6). 4s. 4d.

The indefatigable Dr. Rolffs continues his series of translations of Aristotle. He is a readable and conscientious and up to a certain point a reliable translator. It is, however, a misfortune that he persists in relying on Thomas Aquinas and Sylvester Mauns, and apparently despises and ignores not merely modern Aristotelian scholarship, but also the Greek commentaries so excellently edited under the auspices of the Berlin Academy. Even Alexander Aphrodisiensis seems to be wholly ignored. This is a heavy handicap in these days for a translation of Aristotle; and English students, who have access to the excellent translations by J. I. Beare and G. R. T. Ross in the Oxford series, would have to be very perverse to rely in preference on the much less scholarly version of Dr. Rolffs.

J. L. S.

The Text-tradition of Pseudo-Aristotle De Mundo. By W. L. LAMIMER.
Pp. xii + 95. London: Milford, 1924 (St. Andrews University Publications,
No. xviii). 3s. 6d.

The *De Mundo* is a work of the first or second century A.D. which has somehow got into the Aristotelian corpus. In style, method, and vocabulary it is so obviously un-Aristotelian that it is difficult to think that it was even intended as an imitation of Aristotle. But it is a work of some historical interest and importance, and also of some literary merit. Mr.

Lorimer shows that there is an exceptional wealth of material available for reconstructing the text, which has hitherto received but slight attention. The present study treats exhaustively of this material by way of introduction to a new text which the author has in hand. There are, first, some seventy-five manuscripts (Diels in 1901 spoke as if there were eight MSS.!), of which Mr. Lorimer appears to have collated twelve, while he has sampled in one way or another practically all the rest. Bekker used four MSS., of which one (his R, a Paris MS.) is the oldest and best extant. Secondly, there are long extracts in Stobaeus, preserving a text, as Mr. Lorimer shows, quite independent of our MS. tradition. Thirdly, there is 'a sort of version or adaptation' of the tract credited to Apuleius (born c. A.D. 125); but this is not sufficiently literal to be of great assistance. Fourthly, there is an Armenian and a Syriac version; the latter, belonging to the sixth century, has not hitherto been utilised, but is 'of very great value.' Lastly, there are two mediaeval Latin versions, one made perhaps in the thirteenth century for King Manfred of Sicily, the other by a certain Nicholas Sonhus at about the same time. As an appendix to the present volume Mr. Lorimer prints these two Latin versions in full on opposite pages in a revised text based on a collation of numerous manuscripts.

Clearly Mr. Lorimer has carried through a difficult piece of research with exemplary care and thoroughness. Even without his reconstituted text the work has its fruits, especially on the historical side. But the text is the main objective, and without that it is difficult to judge the degree of Mr. Lorimer's success. But obviously he has put the text of the *De Munda* on a completely new footing.

J. L. S.

Das Hellenische Thessalien. By FRIEDRICH STAHLIN. Pp. xxiv + 245 with a map, 12 plates and 29 figures in the text. Stuttgart: J. Engelhorn's Nachfolger, 1924.

Thessaly is one of the few regions of Greece for the topography of which we have little good authority in ancient literature. Pausanias never visited it and the text of the ninth book of Strabo, which deals with it, is somewhat mutilated. Further, till comparatively recently little systematic attempt had been made to explore the country, while excavations have been rather spasmodic and are not yet adequately published, especially those of Dr. Arvanitopoulos. Thus Dr. Stahlin, already well known as a student of things Thessalian from his journeys there and the papers he has published on various problems, has now put us heavily in his debt by issuing this excellent book. In this one volume, which is well printed, and easily handled and read, though the style is rather concise, he has combined practically all the information available about Thessaly. Strabo, Livy and the other ancient authorities are used and discussed with good judgment. The evidence of inscriptions and coins, of the extant remains, of excavations and of the author's own journeys is used to the full. As a compilation alone this book deserves high praise, but it is noticeable for its sobriety (e.g. in discussing too enthusiastic reports), its sense of proportion in weighing evidence and its sane criticism.

We have first a brief introduction. Then the two outlying districts on the north-east, Perrhaebia and Magnesia, are treated. Next come the four divisions of Thessaly proper, Pelasgiotis, Hestiotis, Thessaliotis and Phthiotis. Lastly come the outlying districts to the south, Dolopia, Achala Phthiotis and the Spercheios valley. Naturally many points invite discussion. The author adheres to his former view that Pharsala is the mythical Phthia and would put Palaipharsalos at Derengli, while following Stoffel's view for the position of the battlefield of Pharsalia. He adopts the now popular view that Demetrias was a rebuilt Pagasai and assigns the ruins at Goritsa by Volo (hitherto held to be Demetrias) to Orminion. Methone he puts at Lechonia and moves Neleia near to Volo. He cannot suggest a site for the Magnesian Thaumakio, but, rightly we believe, passes over Dr. Leaf's proposal to amalgamate it with Thammakoi. On the whole his identifications of the various sites throughout Thessaly, even if they do not agree with those so far generally accepted, all deserve serious consideration. For instance, he puts Atrax at Aliphake instead of Ganitsa, which he calls Argura. Tatar Magala he believes to be Orthe and Elone he places at Karataali. Mondaia he places tentatively in the

neighbourhood of Diskata, which does not seem very satisfactory. He is not right in crediting Mr. Woodward with the identification of Meliboia and he disregards the site at Smolia. There are other details which excite comment, but that is only natural owing to the very uncertain character of Thessalian topography. Further exploration can alone help to solve the many outstanding problems. Dr. Staehlin, however, mainly as a result of personal research, has produced a first-class book which no future student of Thessaly can afford to neglect. There are several sketch plans of ancient sites, a useful map and some good photographs, and last, but by no means least, a good index.

A. W.

L'Albanie en 1921. By JUSTIN GODART, with a Preface by D'ESTOURNELLES DE CONSTANT. Pp. 374, with 32 plates and a map. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1922.

Nearly everyone who travels in the Balkans returns as the champion of one of the Balkan nations. M. Godart is no exception and has taken Albania under his patronage, and this book is one of the results. There is a Preface by Baron D'Estournelles de Constant, who explains his connection with Albania and how M. Godart came to go there. Then comes a brief chapter on the past history of the country and another with the record of the author's journey through it. To these succeed three chapters dealing with the modern history of Albania, its present organisation and the attitude (usually cynical indifference to everything but their own interests) adopted towards it by the Great Powers. Then follow the inevitable chapters dealing with Albania's neighbours, in which the virtues and sufferings of Albanians are sympathetically treated and the cruelty and vices of Turks, Serbs, Montenegrins, Greeks and Italians are exposed for condemnation! The book closes with two 'propaganda' chapters on Albania Irredenta and the future. There are some rather poor illustrations and a useful map. This book has no information of any value about antiquities or ancient history, and the best part is that describing the modern political history of Albania. The rest, if not propaganda pure and simple, is too much coloured by prejudice to be a safe guide. Books such as this we fear only encourage the Balkan nations to forgive nothing and to forget nothing, and will not assist them to live in prosperity themselves and in peace with their neighbours.

A. W.

Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities, Gold and Silver Jewelry and Related Objects. By CAROLINE RANSOM WILLIAMS. Pp. xii + 281, with 38 plates. New York: New York Historical Society, 1924.

Anyone who has never written an archaeological catalogue might well be forgiven for asserting that it is very easy work, which requires no particular skill or knowledge. On the contrary, work which seems easy to the uninitiated is often really quite difficult. It is easy, of course, to write a brief description of a series of objects and provide simple illustrations, but such is not a scientific catalogue, only a more illustrated hand-list, and adds little to our knowledge. The ideal catalogue should provide a good illustrated hand-list, as detailed as necessary for understanding the objects, and also be properly furnished with introductions and appendices to point out the importance of the objects and their position in the history of art and their relationship to similar antiquities. The later volumes of the British Museum Catalogues of Coins approach this ideal, and Mrs. Ransom Williams has also come very near it. We have here a detailed and accurate catalogue of the Abbotts Collection of Egyptian jewellery, well printed on good paper and provided with good plates, among which one can call special attention to the photomicrographs elucidating technical points. There is a good introduction giving a brief history of Egyptian jewellery and devoting much attention to the sources whence Egypt derived its gold and its precious stones. Then follows an excellent technical account dealing particularly with granulated work and the problems it involves in attaching the granulations by soldering or otherwise joining gold work. The author has spent much time in

research on these technical points, and all students of ancient jewellery will be grateful for her careful and practical account. That this can be of great service is shown by her decision about the Menes necklace, which has been the subject of some argument. She concludes on technical grounds that it is a forgery to be dated somewhere between 1830 and 1843. In a discussion of moulds and their uses there are some useful comments on stearite moulds, and we are inclined to agree with the author that such could hardly have been used for casting or otherwise making gold work direct. The classes in which the Abbott Collection is strong are scarabs, rings, earrings and amulets, and an interesting point is the rediscovery of part of a find of good Hellenistic jewellery made in Ithaca in 1813. In appendices there are a full museographical account of the Abbott Collection and a useful chronological list of famous pieces of Egyptian jewellery with a bibliography.

A. W.

Catalogue of the Greek MSS. in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos. By SOFRONIOS EUSTATHIADES (formerly Archbishop of Leontopolis) and AECADIOS, monk of Vatopedi, Deacon. *Harvard Theological Studies*, XI. Cambridge, Mass. Paris: Éd. Champion; London: H. Milford. 1924. Pp. xvi + 278. £3 3s.

When in 1708 Montfaucon published his *Palaographia Graeca* and laid the foundations of the science, he thought it well within his compass to add as a seventh book two descriptions of Mount Athos, one by P. Belon in 1553 and another quite recent; he was sure that the monastic libraries would prove rich treasure-houses of ancient Greek MSS. Since S. P. Lambros produced his great Catalogue we know that these hopes were almost groundless; but it is well that his work should be completed. In the preface to his second volume, published by our Cambridge Press twenty-five years ago, he wrote that the Fathers of the two chief monasteries, the Lavra and Vatopedi, τοὺς ἰδίους θρησκευοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων γνώσεων προτεμῶσιν ἀναδίδουσι . . . φθόνος οὐδέτις: still he declared himself ready to fill the gap in case they should think fit; but they kept the task in their own hands, and in this volume printed in France, but bearing also the imprint *Ἐκστραβρυγία τῆς Νέας Ἀγγλίας* we have half the fulfilment of the monks' promise. The book is edited for the Harvard Faculty of Theology, and so it should be, as nearly all the contents are theological. Among the 1536 books enumerated, less than fifty can be called Classical MSS.; most of these are headed *φιλολογικὰ δέσματα*, practically school selections: complete works are Homer's *Iliad* (fifteenth century), and Thucydides (sixteenth century); there are three or four plays of each of the dramatists, half a dozen speeches of Demosthenes and Isocrates, some Aeschines, Plato, Xenophon, an idyll of Theocritus, extracts from Pindar. No. 671 (fourteenth century), Sophocles, *Ajax*, *Electra*, *Oedipus Rex*, Euripides, *Heracles*, *Orestes*, *Phoenissae*, four Homeric hymns and four hymns of Callimachus, has most Classical interest. If there used to be more they have come to the West like the famous Ptolemy, but I cannot think of other MSS. from Vatopedi. Most of the Classical extracts were copied in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Even in theology the older centuries are poorly represented: Nos. 18 and 1175 are palimpsests written over uncial fragments of the eighth century; of the ninth century I notice Nos. 191, 376, 408, 497, 669, 1217 and of the tenth about ten: of nearly 350 dated MSS. two go back to the tenth century—No. 940, Gospels with pictures of the Evangelists, and No. 181, Ephraim Syrus: there are three dated of the eleventh, five of the twelfth, fourteen of the thirteenth, about thirty each of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. But some fifty belong to the seventeenth century, ninety to the eighteenth and seventy to the nineteenth. One, No. 810, the service in memory *Ἐδόξιστος τοῦ νεοφανοῦς* (in 1840) τοῦ Βασιλεῦς, bears date 1006. It is wonderful to think that the copying of Greek MSS. has lasted into our century.

The proportion of undated books is probably four to one; it would take much time to establish it exactly, but this gives a production of well over a thousand books for the past four centuries, a sufficient refutation of the contemptuous accusations against ignorant and lazy monks such as even Montfaucon quotes from Belon, 'vix unum ducunt singulis

in monasteriis reperias, qui legant aut tantillum literarum sciant.' This is the real interest of the book, its witness to the continuity of Greek monastic life, fully justifying the writers of the Preface in their impassioned defence of the monks as the preservers of Hellenism in the struggle against the Turk.

In the library of an institution we can often distinguish between the working books acquired by it for the needs of the place and others given by benefactors and reflecting their taste. It is generally the latter that awaken our interest. The most famous benefactor to this library was the emperor John Cantacuzene, ὁ μοναχὸς καὶ αἰεὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Βασιλείου ποτὴ καὶ μετονομασθεὶς Ἰωάννης: which name he wrote in gold in No. 326: he left marks in several others. So No. 935 belonged to Andronikos Palaeologus and Eirene in 1307. Former owners of MSS. came from all over the Greek world, from Cyprus to Arta, from Crete to Timovo and Wallachia. Some have distinctly Slavonic names, Bulgars, Bosniaks and Russians, and a man called Σοβάρτζογλου looks like the Turkish son of a Slavonic dog.

The glory of the Library is in certain illuminated MSS.: the twelfth-century Old Testament, No. 602 (formerly 515, see Kondakov, *Athos*, p. 284, and his *Hist. de l'Art Byz.*), the Psalters Nos. 709, 761, 762, 851 (formerly 608-610, 635, Kondakov, *Athos*, p. 286; Millet, *Iconogr. de l'Eccl.*, p. 737, s.v. *Athos*) of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the fourteenth century Gospels, No. 937 (formerly 735, Kondakov and Millet, *op. cit.*). This brings us to a serious defect: the books have been rearranged in three divisions, Literary, Liturgical and Musical, each in alphabetical order, but though there are indexes of authors, scribes, owners, miniatures, miscellaneous entries, palimpsests, dated MSS. and composers of tunes, there is no comparative table of the numbers assigned in this catalogue and those formerly borne by the books, nor does the notice of any MS. give references to the literature dealing with it. Welcome too would have been an introduction giving a history of the Library and pointing out the more important of its books.

E. H. M.

Phidias. By HANS SCHRADER. Pp. 386; 325 illustrations. Frankfurt: Frankfurter Verlags-Anstalt A.-G., 1924.

It is astonishing how in spite of war and bankruptcy the tide of German and Austrian works on classical archaeology flows on. Dr. Schrader's work of nearly 400 quarto pages, illustrated by good and well-chosen photographs, is admirably produced and printed; and full of careful argument and new points of view. The author was raised to the task by his experience in enlarging the collection of casts at Frankfurt, when it appeared to him that clearer notions might be reached as to the great masters of the fifth century. He begins by insisting that our knowledge of these masters must be based on originals, not copies; yet, like almost all archaeologists, he treats originals and copies too much on a level. In treating of Phidias he naturally follows the beaten track, speaking first of the testimony of ancient writers, then of the evidence as to the great statues of Zeus and Athena, then of several majestic figures, such as the Demeter of Chershel and the Alabaster Cora, the Amazon, the Diadumeneos and other works.

But it is really Alcámenes and Paeonius who are the main subjects of the book; and when he treats of them Dr. Schrader cannot be accused of want of originality. He seeks to vindicate the testimony of Pausanias that Paeonius made the east pediment and Alcámenes the west (Centaurs) pediment of the great temple of Olympia. This testimony has of late been almost unanimously rejected by archaeologists, and in fact its rejection has been regarded almost as the *pons asinorum* of archaeology. Dr. Schrader's most convincing thesis is that the three corner figures of the west pediment which are made of Pentelic marble are not, as Dr. Trou maintained, restorations of the Roman age, but originals of some years later than the rest. If this were the case, it would account for the statement of Pausanias in regard to Alcámenes. The statement in regard to Paeonius is easily accounted for; but Dr. Schrader chooses to take it as literally correct. But his most paradoxical theory is in regard to the Parthenon and its sculptors, setting forth

views which are not likely to be accepted in London, that Phidias was only the general superintendent of the sculpture of the temple, but that the east pediment and the frieze are really due to Alcamenes and the west pediment to Paconina. This would account for the fact long ago recognised, that there is a deep cleft in style between the great religious statues of Phidias, so far as we are able to judge of them, and the decorative sculpture of the Parthenon. And it is extremely probable that Alcamenes at all events was one of the workers on the pediments. But the evidence is scarcely sufficient to enable us to identify his contributions. Our only trustworthy knowledge of him is based on the *Procné* and *Irys* of the Athenian acropolis, and the herm of *Hermes* from Pergamon, to the latter of which Dr. Schrader, like most German archaeologists, assigns too much importance. It is certainly an extreme paradox to say on such evidence that Alcamenes made the group of three female figures in the pediment, for their style is obviously as dissimilar as possible from the stiff archaic head of the *Hermes* and the poor drapery of the *Procné*. The sculpture of the Parthenon is clearly the work of an extremely competent and progressive school; but we are hardly able on the evidence to discern in it the handiwork of individuals. It is also a paradox to attribute to Paconias alike the east pediment of Olympia and the west pediment of the Parthenon.

Whether we agree with Dr. Schrader's theories or not, we are bound to allow that he proceeds with very great diligence and minuteness. His illustrations are what illustrations ought to be, calculated to throw light on particular points in the argument, and so arranged as to illuminate one another. They are also very numerous; each statue appears over and over again, with emphasis laid on fresh points.

P. G.

Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. By L. D. CASKEY. 4°. Pp. x + 234; 134 Nos. Harvard University Press, 1923.

This is a work which will be very welcome to archaeologists, as the Boston Museum contains many works which hovered on the European horizon and then vanished. Boston came late into the field as a collector, but has made up for lost time, thanks to the talent and energy of Mr. E. P. Warren and Mr. John Marshall, supported by the generous contributions of wealthy New Englanders. The collection was by no means indiscriminate; almost every piece is of interest; many are of the first importance. Perhaps the most fascinating work is the reliefs supposed to represent the fate of Adonis, about which a literature has already gathered. But other examples are remarkable: the colossal head of Zeus of Phidias type, several exquisite female heads, young athletes, sepulchral reliefs, and portraits. Almost every piece is a good specimen of its class: together they form a series ideal for persons of taste and lovers of the beautiful. And Mr. Caskey's catalogue is excellent, avoiding tedious controversy, but citing all important authorities, never dogmatizing, but always showing good sense. The illustrations are for a catalogue adequate; but a portfolio of photographs on a larger scale would be a welcome supplement.

P. G.

Molfetta und Matera. By MAXIMILIAN MAYER. Pp. 318, with 25 plates (one in colour), 1 plan and 74 figures in the text. Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1924.

During the last fifteen years our knowledge of the prehistoric civilisations of South Italy has been enormously enlarged; topographical surveys, fresh excavations and successful restorations of the magined sherds have provided a far more representative series of documents than was available to Prof. Peet. No one is better qualified to give a general account of the new discoveries than Dr. Mayer, who was the first to draw attention to the painted pottery of Matera and Molfetta. In the work before us the important sections of his former book, *Le stazioni preistoriche di Molfetta*, have been translated, the excellent plates reproduced and all the fresh material gathered in Apulia and the adjoining regions down to 1922 (the new finds from Capri are mentioned only in an addendum) described

with good illustrations. The book is not only a convenient guide to the South Italian remains of the neolithic and bronze ages, but also a valuable contribution to their interpretation. The author has not indeed been able to adduce convincing stratigraphical evidence in support of his already familiar division of the Molfetta hut settlement into two periods. Still less is he able to assign a definite provenance to the supposedly imported painted wares. Although he has collected a vast number of analogies from the opposite side of the Adriatic, the limitations of these are betrayed by the fact that they are drawn not only from the neolithic wares of Thessaly of both periods, but also from Cretan and those as late as L.M. I. Not a single sherd is described of which it can be said that it was made at any known centre of Aegean culture; the discursive study of motives to which we are treated can at best give us an indication as to the direction in which we should look. And of course our author recognises the existence of a local school of vase painting, but perhaps without giving it its full due. The study of the relations between the Italian and the Sicilian neolithic pottery leads to more positive if rather revolutionary conclusions. Dr. Mayer now considers that the neolithic culture came to South Italy, not from Africa via Sicily, but from across the Adriatic, reaching Apulia first and the island only later. Stentinello is thus posterior to the older hut settlement at Molfetta. The archaeological arguments in support of this rather disconcerting thesis are very convincing.

In conclusion it is necessary to warn the reader that Dr. Mayer's terminology is distinctly original. 'Helladisch' here does not mean Helladic, and 'the hour-glass motive so popular in Thessaly (*sic*) and Central Greece' is, in fact, the Minoan-Helladic double-axe pattern! The sculptured slab closing a grave at Castelluccio is wrongly assigned to Siculan II. Moreover our pleasure in reading this admirable work would have been enhanced if the merbities of polemic had been eliminated.

V. G. C.

Architecture. By ALFRED MANFIELD BROOKS. Pp. xix + 189. London: George G. Harrap and Co., 1925. 5s.

NORMAN is more difficult to write than history which is concerned with the principles of a subject, and Mr. Brooks has set himself this task in his 'Debt to Greece and Rome' contribution dealing with architecture. On the whole he has done his work well, and if a few shortcomings are mentioned, it is only because one would see detailed information, if introduced, treated with as much care as generalisation. Sir Reginald Blomfield says in his introduction that 'Mr. Brooks has made no attempt to give a detailed account of Greek and Roman architecture,' and though this is true in the sense that such a thing would be impossible in a compass of 170 pages, a lot of detail has been introduced in the references to particular buildings. There are, of course, matters of fact and matters of opinion and it is only the former one would stress in a criticism.

The columns of the Temple of Nike Apteros certainly have tapering, *i.e.* diminution, though they have no entasis, and this is probably what the author meant (p. 67). In dealing with Hellenistic Pergamum, it is an anachronism to refer to the Temple of Trajan (p. 100). It is misleading to state that the Pennsylvania Terminal 'resembles the Baths of Caracalla' (p. 110), though the waiting hall of the station is based on the tepidarium of the baths. The methods mentioned for eliminating or minimising the thrusts of arches (p. 112) have rarely been adopted in ancient or modern practice, and the use of iron cramps for this purpose is surely almost unknown and most undesirable. In the description of the Basilica of Constantine there is no reference to the piercing of the cross walls dividing the aisle compartments, and thus one of the central facts in the plan of this great building is lost to the reader (p. 138). On p. 151 no reference is made to the domical structures of the Minerva Medica and the Jupiter Temple at Spalato, which are not circular and which show the distinct beginnings of the pendentive. If these are not the direct forbears of the dome of Sta. Sophia, they are certainly links in the chain between the Pantheon and SS. Sergius and Bacchus. It is surely incredible to say that Alberti 'did not know imperial Roman architecture' (p. 158) when we have certain evidence that the San Gallo,

and others who were very little later, knew it perfectly well. The building work of "the noblest Roman of them all" speaks for itself and indeed gets recognition on the next page as 'adapted' from Roman design—a contradiction which the author should correct. It is a commonplace to assert (p. 159) that the order rising through several stories was invented by Palladio, but the principle was recognised by Michelangelo in his Florentine work at an earlier date, and perfected by him at St. Peter's at least no later. The Royal Exchange is not by Wren but by Sir William Tite (p. 184).

Turning to matters of greater nicety, it is at least doubtful if the Greeks had the very conscious feelings of balance in the disposition of the Acropolis buildings ascribed to them by Mr. Brooks (p. 67). The analogies between different types of building and of draughtsmanship are not quite happy. Mass and texture in architecture must be realised as something more complex than drawing (pp. 69-70). 'Name' and 'fame' in the reference to the Lincoln Memorial is also not happy, and the generalisation following is a little risky (p. 73). The reference to the *Thermae*—the finest planning achievement of the Romans—is meagre in comparison with the space afforded to the Pantheon. Neither Kingsley Porter (not at his best) nor the comment on him are convincing (pp. 168-9). If Rome had only 'phantom glory,' how could it have inspired Piranesi and Jefferson?

But with all these minor drawbacks, Mr. Brooks' essay is a very sound piece of work, though there is more than one example of repetition in it, which a study of 170 pages should be particularly careful to avoid. The point about the Pantheon being equivalent in height to a sphere of similar diameter is a good one (p. 121) and may be compared with Fergusson's derogatory remark about its lowness of proportion: as if any such adverse theory could contend against the superb result! The argument for the small columns in the inner orders of the Parthenon (p. 56) is ingenious and reasonably convincing as a utilitarian explanation.

Mr. Brooks will probably thank us more if we make some appreciative reference to the main arguments and not merely the small points in his book; and one hastens to add that the general treatment is really very good. Particularly good is the section devoted to Romanesque and Mediaeval Gothic. For this he certainly deserves all praise. If the section devoted to Renaissance and modern work is not quite equal to this, the subject is so vast that 15 pages are quite inadequate to give any coherent account of it. The bibliography is fairly complete, but Geoffrey Scott's *Architecture of Humanism* is a notable omission. The absence of references to pages in the notes at the end is a great drawback.

D. T. F.

The Geography of the Ancient World, being a select list of Wall Maps useful for classical teaching in schools. Advisory Leaflet No. 2, issued by the Councils of the Societies for the Promotion of Hellenic and Roman Studies. Pp. 13. Oxford University Press, London: Humphrey Milford, 1925. 6d.

We would call the attention of members of the Society to this leaflet, which represents the most recent enterprise of the Councils of the two Societies. Its purpose is sufficiently indicated by its title; the compilation has been made on practical lines and the everyday needs of the classroom have been steadily kept in view. We are asked to remind readers that, while the Societies are responsible for the publication of this little guide, they do not act as agents for the maps recommended, which must be obtained from the publishers.

NOTE: in the review of *The Daily Life of the Greeks and Romans*, by HELEN McCLEES, New York, 1924, the price of the work was inadvertently given as 6s. 8d. (*J.H.S.* xlv, p. 306). We are asked by the Metropolitan Museum of Art to say that it should be 75 cents.

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RESTORATION OF THE DESIGN ON THE "RING OF NESTOR" IN STYLE OF THE MINIATURE FRESCOES OF KNOSSOS.

PERSEUS AND THE ACHAEANS IN THE HITTITE TABLETS

DR. FORRER'S discovery of the Achaeans in the Hittite cuneiform tablets of Boghaz Keui is now well known to classical scholars.¹ His identification of them with the Hittite Akkhiyawas is beyond question, and I am inclined to think that Dr. Cowley has made a happy suggestion in further identifying them with the Hivites (*Ha-Khivwi*) of the Old Testament. On the other hand, the identification of the Akkhiyan chieftain Attarassiyas (also written Attarsiyas) with the Homeric Atreus is phonetically impossible; nor would the date of Attarsiyas agree with that usually assigned by tradition to Atreus.

About 1250 B.C. Attarsiyas the *kuirwanas* or *κοιπῶνας* of the Akkhiyawa came from the western side of Asia Minor with a fleet of 100 ships to the Pamphylian coast (hardly the Karian, as Forrer proposes). He had previously driven a tributary of the Hittite king, by name Madduwattas, from his dominions in the south-western part of Asia Minor; Dudkhaliyas III, however, the Hittite monarch, had restored the latter, but on the death of Dudkhaliyas, and in the first year of the reign of his successor, Arnuwandas, Attarsiyas made another attack, this time by sea, and again compelled Madduwattas to solicit help from his suzerain.² The invaders were repulsed; Madduwattas was re-instated in Arzawa, that is, western Cilicia, and Attarsiyas turned his fleet against Alasiya, which he devastated. Alasiya, the Elishah of the Old Testament, is commonly supposed to be Cyprus, but I have brought forward arguments in favour of it really being the opposite coast of Cilicia—the Eleian plain, in fact, of the Greeks.

Now Eusebius (*Chron.* i, p. 62, edit. Schoene) has preserved a passage from Kephallion in which the latter states that 640 years after Semiramis or Ninyas (*ἀπὸ Νίνου* of the MSS. is an interpolation) Bélimos reigned over the 'Assyrians' and 'Perseus the son of Danaë arrived in his country with 100 ships. Now Perseus was flying from Dionysus, son of Semelê. . . . In the next generation, when Pannyas was king (of Assyria), the expedition of the Argonauts sailed to the Phasis.'

¹ The German excavations at Boghaz Keui, the Cappadocian capital of the Hittite Empire, in 1907-8, brought to light two libraries of cuneiform tablets, mostly belonging to the 14th century B.C., though some of them are of earlier date. About 20,000, including fragments, are at Berlin, others are in Constantinople. The Berlin collection is being rapidly copied and published. During the war, the Swiss

Assyriologist, Dr. Forrer, was engaged to work upon them, and his knowledge of the texts is therefore more extensive than that of any other scholar.

² The name Madduwattas is parallel to the Lydian Sadyattos, Alyattes. Since *m* and *w* are expressed by the same cuneiform character, we could read Wadduwattas cp. Adyattos.

A statue of Perseus was said to have stood at the entrance to the city of Ikonion, the name of which was Amandra before the Greek hero had wrested it from the Lykaonians, and he was also said to have been the founder, or re-founder, of Tarsus (written Tersos on coins); see Nonnus, *Dionys.*, 18, 294.

Danaë claims relationship to the Danaoi of Homer, who formed one of the northern nations who attacked Egypt by sea in the time of Ramses III (1200 B.C.). In the earlier invasion from the north, which took place in the reign of Menephtah II, the place of the Danaoi was taken by the Aqiwash. 'The isles of the Danaans' are already mentioned in a hymn of the time of Thothmes III. It is possible that they are the Danuna of the Tel el-Amarna tablets. In any case, in the thirteenth century B.C. the Egyptian monuments show that they were settled in Asia Minor.

Dionysos, again, points to Asia Minor. The vine, like its name, came to Greece from thence, and the vine and wine, together with the Wine-god, play a conspicuous part in the Hittite texts. The planting of the vine by the Hittite king was a religious act, and while among his own subjects he represented the Sun-god he could well have been symbolised as the Wine-god by the foreigner. The wine-goddess as well as the Wine-god is mentioned in the ritual tablets of Boghaz Keui, and it is noticeable that the suffix of the non-Greek name Semelê is Asianic and more especially Lydian. Belimos is identified later on by Eusebius with the Bêlochos of Ktesias, but a speculative philologist might prefer to see in it an echo of the name of the Hittite king Subbilaliumas. Herodotus traces the Herakleid kings of Lydia to Belus.

Tarsus took the place of Arzawa, the capital of western Cilicia after 1200 B.C. It does not seem to have existed at an earlier date. At all events there is no mention of it in the Hittite texts which have frequent references to Arzawa.

The 100 ships of Attarsiyas are curiously like the 100 ships of the Asianic Perseus, and I am inclined to think the two names are the same. One of the dentals in the Asianic languages was an initial which the Greeks represented sometimes by π , sometimes by τ . The similar dialectal interchange of π and τ (from original qu) in Greek itself was, I believe, due to Asianic influence, and in $\pi\tau\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ and $\pi\tau\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$, which were said to be Cypriote, we have the combination of the two letters. Neither of these words, it may be added, seems to admit of a scientifically satisfactory Indo-European derivation. That in the Asianic Perseus we have the same intermediate initial results from the fact that he was made the founder of Tarsus or Tersos. The cuneiform *Att* in Attarsiyas would be a Hittite attempt to represent the same sound in syllabic characters.

If the story of Perseus and Belimos preserves a tradition of a historical event we may ask whether the story of the assistance sent to Priam by the 'Assyrian' king Teutamios has not also a historical foundation. Many years ago Gladstone suggested that the $K\eta\tau\epsilon\iota\omicron\iota$ of *Od.* xi. 519 were the Hittites, whose leader was Eurypyles,¹ son of the Mysian Telephus and the sister of

¹ Cf. the name of Urpalla, king of Tuk-pileser IV. hana, near Tynia, in the time of Tiglath-

Priam. In Telephus German scholars have seen the Hittite Telibinus. Dr. Forrer has now found the name of Troy, written Taruisa, in the Hittite texts.

Teutamios, out of which Ktesias formed his usual doublet (or triplet) Teutamios (Tautanes), Teutaeos, is a good Hittite name. Tutamu was king of the Khattinā in N.-W. Syria in 740 B.C., and the name is related to that of Teuwatti which is found in the Tel el-Amarna tablets. This appears as *Teutrus* in Greek inscriptions, Tuates in the Vannic and Moschian texts. It literally signifies 'the charioteer,' from *tua*, *tuca* 'a chariot.'

By way of appendix I will add a few words on the two bodies of mercenary troops who constituted the body-guard of the Hittite kings. These were the Lulakhi and Khabiriyas. The Khabiriyas, also called Sagsi or 'Executioners,' were stationed at Boghaz Keni, where 600 of them guarded one side of the royal quarters and another 600 the other side. Name and institution were alike derived from Babylonia. We first hear of the Khabiri or 'Comrades' in the time of Rim-Sin, the contemporary of Khammurabi, and they appear to have been recruited from Elam, where the name lingered for several centuries. Some years ago I suggested that we should see in them the prototype of the Greek Kabeiri, and the suggestion has been supported by the discovery of an early deified Hittite king, Khasamilis, who occupies a conspicuous place in the royal and military ritual. Khasamilis is suspiciously like *Κασμείλος*. In the Imbros inscription the first of the 'great gods' is invoked as *Κασμείλος ἀναξ*. In one of the texts Khasamilis is associated with Kanis, the early Babylonian settlement in Cappadocia, and it is therefore possible that it was he who introduced the Khabiri into Asia Minor.

In the Lulakhi I believe we have the *Λέλεγες* of Greek tradition. Like the Khabiri, they had their special deities, and in the lists of gods attached to treaties 'the Lulakhi gods' and 'Khabiri gods' are coupled together. Even at Assur, the old capital of Assyria, a god Khabiru was worshipped; he would have represented the Khabiri mercenaries as a whole.

The institution continued to exist in Asia Minor down to the Roman period. We read in Hesychius: *Τράλλεις· οὕτως ἐκαλοῦντο μισθοφόροι Θράκες τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, οἱ τὰς φοινικὰς χρείας πληροῦντες*. The full form of the word seems to have been *ἀστράλλεις*, since Hesychius also gives: *ἀστραλίαν· τὸν Θράκα· Λυδοί*.

A. H. SAYCE.

THE NEW ATHENIAN STATUE BASES

THE three marble statue bases found in February 1922, incorporated as integral parts of the wall of Athens, are unique records of Attic art. While their supreme importance was recognised from the moment of their discovery, their exact contribution to our knowledge of Attic art is a matter upon which a variety of opinions has been expressed.

M. Philadelphus, who as Ephor of antiquities of Attica was responsible for their custody at the time of discovery, was the first to publish them.¹ He describes each briefly.² No. I. he dates to the end of the sixth century B.C. No. II. he leaves undated, and No. III. he assigns either to the Peisistratid period or to the period of the Republic before 480. He makes no attempt to deal with the works in detail or to analyse their artistic significance.

M. Oikonomos has published³ a brief account of II. *b*, in which he suggests an interpretation of the so-called 'hockey' game. He disregards the problems of style and date.

Dr. della Seta of the Italian School at Athens is the only authority at present⁴ to discuss the artistic value and significance of Bases I. and II. and to attempt to place them chronologically in the Attic series. His exhaustive and attractive articles deserve the closest attention.

Other publications⁵ are incidental and descriptive and will not be considered in this article, the purpose of which is primarily to examine the style of the two sculptured Bases I. and II. and the meaning, purpose and date of all three.

At the outset the circumstances of discovery deserve to be reconsidered. Base I. was found by accident during the clearing of a courtyard which abutted on to a fragment of the wall of Athens between the Piræic gate and the Kera-meikos near the 'Theseion.' The removal of earth revealed its central sculptured face (I. *b*) as an integral part of the outer surface of a section of the city wall, the adjoining parts of which were composed of well-cut, rectangular blocks of local conglomerate (Fig. 1). The base, being extracted from the

¹ *J.H.S.* xlii. p. 104, Pls. VI, VII.; *B.C.H.* xlv. p. 1; *Αρχ. Δελτ.* 1920-21, pp. 1-20.

² His numbering of the slabs will be followed here with the addition of letters to denote the sides. Thus in the case of the two sculptured slabs, *a*, *b* and *c* represent the left, central and right sides from the spectator's point of view. Figs. 4, 5, 6 and 8 are from casts.

³ *Αρχ. Δελτ.* 1920-21, pp. 58-59.

⁴ In *Dedalo*, 1922. Ann. III. Fasc. 4: 'Basi di statue con rilievi arcaici scoperte in Atene,' and Fasc. 7: 'Un'altra base ateniese con rilievi arcaici.'

⁵ *Manchester Guardian*, Feb. 17th, March 22nd and May 19th, 1922; C. Picard, *La Sculpture antique*, Paris, 1923, p. 397; *Discovery*, April 1923, p. 97, 'Ball Games in Ancient Greece'; J. P. Droop, 'Attic reliefs and vase paintings' in *Liverpool Annals*, x. p. 61.

wall, was found to have reliefs cut on three out of four sides, I. *a* and I. *c* still retaining a background of bright vermilion paint; I. *b*, on the other hand, presumably owing to its exposed position, showed no paint.

This chance discovery was at once followed by careful excavation and a stretch of some 80 feet of wall of the same type was revealed.* In this stretch Bases II. and III. were found also *in situ*. II. had no trace of colour; but III.



FIG. 1.—BASE I AS FOUND IN THE WALL.

still retained on its one central decorated face elements of the painting which had originally adorned it.

The first problem which arises, then, is how these three bases, all of approximately the same dimensions, came to be part of the city wall. The solution that at once presented itself was that this was part of the Themistoclean wall of Athens which had been hastily built up in the way described by Thucydides. An examination of the wall, however, leads to a different conclusion. The regular blocks of which it is composed, which all approximate

* The exact position of this stretch of wall is given by Philadelphus. The wall has since been dismantled and its blocks are lying scattered. Amongst them is a large

poros statue base, uninscribed and undecorated, which has not hitherto received notice.

in general dimensions to the marble bases, do not correspond to the material of which the extant parts of the known Themistoclean wall are composed.⁷ Conglomerate stone is rarely used in the fifth century, but is the chief material for the walls of Athens in the Macedonian period. Doubt as to the Themistoclean nature of the wall in which the bases had been found has already been expressed by M. Oikonomos.⁸ It seems wiser to conclude with him that the bases had formed part of the original wall of Themistocles, but had been used afresh in a later reconstruction. Such reconstruction may well have taken place either in the period 337-322 B.C. or later in 307, when the city walls were wholly rebuilt. The stretch of wall between Philopappos hill and the Pnyx, generally assigned to the Macedonian period, is composed of blocks of conglomerate identical in type with those among which the bases were found.

A second problem is to explain the three wholly different states of preservation in which the bases are found. Base I. is almost in what numismatists would call 'mint condition.' Beyond the loss of colouring on side *b* and slight damage at the corners the base is perfect, with its sculptures fresh and clearly cut. Base II. is in a very different state of preservation. Sides *a* and *c* are lightly rubbed and side *b* more heavily, so that there is neither colour nor sharpness of outline left. Clear traces remain, however, of three spears, the charioteer's goad and the reins having been painted on side *c*, and of the goad, reins and spear of the *apobates* similarly painted on side *a*. On side *b* the inner player of the two on the left held an object, presumably a stick, similar to those held by the rest, which must have been rendered in paint, though no such traces remain.

Base III. has one side only decorated (Fig. 2). It bears also two inscriptions, incised. The design was originally rendered in paint and represented a figure seated on a throne—probably a Zeus—holding a long sceptre. This design, together with the two inscriptions, has been scrupulously erased with a pointed instrument by a series of blows from a hammer. So carefully has this defacement been carried out that the outline of the painted figure is clearly indicated, and sufficient traces of paint remain to make it possible to derive a reasonably accurate idea of the original.

From these three different states of preservation historical data can only be established in the case of Base III. Della Seta suggests⁹ that the freshness of Base I. indicates that it was incorporated in the wall only a short time before that wall was built in 479-8, and he concludes that it was therefore cut between 500 and 480. In the same way he infers from the inferior state of preservation of Base II. that it was exposed to the elements for a longer period before being buried in the Themistoclean wall.

Both inferences are untenable. They are based alike upon two suppositions: firstly, that both bases were found in the Themistoclean wall; secondly, that both bases were exposed to the elements under the same conditions. The first supposition has been shown to be unlikely, the second is

⁷ See Neave, *Marble Athens*, p. 154, Fig. 16, and contrast with Fig. 22, which shows a wall of the fourth century.

⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 56, n. 1.

⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 226 (Fasc. 4).

entirely unwarranted. Until we can be certain that both bases were exposed in the open air and until we have some idea of their history between the occasion when they were first used in the building of the Themistoclean wall and that when they were used anew for the Macedonian wall, no inferences from the state of preservation are either possible or permissible. Both might have been under cover in their original position, while during the period of the decay of the Themistoclean wall one might have remained exposed and the other covered by earth. In fact the weathering of Base II. is peculiar. It consists of a light rubbing of the surface of each sculptured face so as to dim the sharp outlines; it is more evident in the central face II. *b*. On the assumption that this base stood on a pedestal of steps, in the manner of the Lysicrates monument and other monuments of the Street of Tripods, it may well have been so rubbed by being used as a seat-back by Athenian idlers or *σκιатροφούμενοι*. Similar



FIG. 2.—ERASED DESIGN ON BASE III.

weathering, probably caused in this way, is to be seen on the marble plinth at the outer entrance of the Dipylon gate. Base I. may owe its better surface preservation to a position where it could not be used as a public seat.¹⁰

It is obvious, then, that any inferences drawn from the state of preservation of the two bases are at best hazardous and should be avoided.

The defaced surface of Base III., on the other hand, is due to deliberate action. Such action is most probably that of the Alcmaeonidae, who must have destroyed many Peisistratid monuments. In the same way two centuries later the 360 portraits of Demetrius of Phalerum were, on his fall, destroyed: other parallels in antiquity are not lacking, as in the case of the Phocian dedications at Delphi or at Rome in the monuments and inscriptions of Geta. In the pinax of Megacles¹¹ on the Acropolis we may see perhaps an Alcmaeonid

¹⁰ Mr. Dinsmoor suggests (*A.J.A.* 1923, p. 23) that the bases are more probably capitals of pedestals standing high in the air. He bases his belief on important technical grounds. But no such monuments

are known, and the statues so held by the bases would be raised to an awkward height. Nevertheless his suggestion is noteworthy.

¹¹ *Acropolis Museum Catalogue*, Vol. II, p. 306, No. 67.

monument defaced in some period of unpopularity. Philadelphus' suggestion of the defacement of Base III. by the Persians in 480 is extremely improbable. Wholesale ruin, not detailed and particular destruction, was their aim, and there seems no reason why they should so strongly dislike the names of the artist Endoios and his subject.

We are faced, therefore, with the conclusion that Bases I. and II. cannot be accurately dated either from their circumstances of finding or from their state of preservation. In the case of Base III., on the other hand, the state of preservation is the only sure indication of date. The name of Endoios itself is a less definite criterion, since his date, as hitherto established, has not been fixed more narrowly than to a period between 552 and 500.

It is clear then that any attempt to date the reliefs on Bases I. and II. must be based on their style rather than on their condition or the circumstances of their discovery. Before considering the problems of style, those of subject must be dealt with. In Base I. sides *a* and *c* present problems of interpretation that are entirely new. Side *b*, the central relief, exhibits, on the other hand, a scene that is of frequent occurrence in Greek art—wrestlers of the palaestra; the additional figures, however, are difficult to explain. In Base II. only the central relief *b* presents a wholly new problem.

In Base I. *a* we see six athletes all in active motion, though the speed and intensity of activity varies considerably. The explanation of M. Philadelphus, that 'six ephēboi, upright but in varied poses, are playing one of the ball games so dear to the ancient Greeks,' is clearly inadequate. The first player on the left, he thinks, is about to throw the ball up in the air and 'all the rest hold their hands in different attitudes to catch it.' The relief cannot substantiate such an interpretation.

Dr. Della Seta's interpretation of it as a ball game played by six men in two parties is correct. It is obvious that in the exact centre of the relief between the two groups is an imaginary 'half-way' line. But more can be said. The players on each side are arranged in order of activity. Two 'forwards' face each other, that of the left team ready to advance, that of the right to retire, as is indicated by his backward-turned head. Behind each are two more active figures: the player on the left advances at a run, while keeping his eye on the ball which is in the hand of the backmost player: the fellow-player on the right withdraws with some speed but keeps his hands extended to catch the ball if it is thrown back. The backmost player on the left is preparing¹² to launch the ball to the opposing team, while his fellow on the right waits the course of events poised and ready and beckoning (with a gesture familiar in modern Greece) to his forward player to fall back. Della Seta's interpretation of the action of the players is throughout informing and correct, but he fails to grasp the full purpose of the game or to suggest a name for it.

The solution seems to be found in the compilation of Julius Pollux.¹³ In the description here given of a game called *ἐπισκυρος* we find a clue. Accord-

¹² Della Seta suggests that he has his eye on the boundary behind him to make sure that he does not overstep it. This is

probable, but he may equally well be looking at the ball itself.

¹³ *Onomasticon*, ix. 109.

ing to Pollux *ἐπίσκυρος* was a 'ball-contest' (*σφαίρομαχία*) rather than a 'game' (*παίδιά*) for individual players or couples. It was played by young men rather than by children. The players were divided into 'two teams of equal numbers facing each other or separated by a central chalk-line.' This chalk-line or 'half-way' line was called the *σκήρος*, meaning 'chalk.' The ball was placed on the central line, before the 'kick off.' There were two other lines drawn behind the central line. The game presumably started by the ball being seized by one side or the other and thrown in the direction of the opposing 'back-line.' The team that held the ball had to avoid being pushed over this 'back-line.'

The description is brief and condensed and many essential details are omitted. We are not told how the game starts, nor whether the players of one team are allowed to pass the ball from one to another, or what precisely constitutes a win. Probably the team that held the ball had to get rid of it as soon as possible by throwing it in the direction of the opposing goal and following up with a charge which would hustle the opposing team over their own 'back-line' before they had time to get rid of the ball themselves. In any case the main point of the game seems to have been to avoid *keeping* the ball, since the team that held it was at a disadvantage: in this respect the game differs fundamentally from our own games of football.

The description given by Pollux is short and condensed chiefly because his work was a dictionary packed with condensed information and not an explanatory treatise. At the same time it seems doubtful if he really understood the game he was describing.

This game of *ἐπίσκυρος* or the 'chalk-line game' seems to explain our relief. Here we have two teams of equal size divided by a central line. The team on the right has just thrown the ball, which has been caught by the full-back of the opposing team and is being thrown back before the attacking team has time to charge. The team in possession of the ball is, in its turn, preparing to follow up the throw of its own back by a charge which may succeed in hustling the opposing team over their 'back-line.' The full-back who holds the ball is just about to launch it in the direction of the other team: his 'outside' or 'three-quarter' is preparing to follow up at full speed, while the 'forward' is advancing judiciously so as to fall back as a defence in case the opposing team counters the move by throwing the ball back again quickly. It is evident that the team which catches the ball is in a position of advantage over the team which has to *pick it up* from the ground, since in the former case the ball can be thrown back as soon as received. The main function of the 'full-back,' then, is to be able to catch and to throw.

No element of the game, as described by Pollux, contradicts what we have in the relief, but we learn from it much that is not explicit in Pollux. *Ἐπίσκυρος* was also called *ἐπικόσμος* and *ἐφηβική* according to Pollux, the former implying that it was a team game, the latter that it was a game for young men rather than children. It may be objected that Pollux, writing at Athens in the time of Commodus, was hardly in a position to know anything of the games played there in the days of Peisistratus. But games

die hard and the urchins of modern Rome still play the '*mora*' that was in vogue under the Empire. Pollux was able to draw from the records and traditions of an older Athens, and in his day archaism was the fashion. In the *ἐπισκευπος*, then, we have a reasonable and sufficient interpretation of the game represented.

In side *b* the two wrestlers in the centre are in an entirely conventional attitude, which is often portrayed in Greek art, though seldom with such vigour and directness as here. The apparently heavier wrestler on the left is really in the weaker position. His opponent, concentrating all his force on seizing his left arm, is about to swing round to the front and, by getting underneath him, will throw him by leverage, using the throw known in the north of England as the 'flying mare.' The wrestler on the left is attempting what is the only



FIG. 3.—MEDIEVAL BALL-GAME.

possible and what in fact is the conventional counter—namely, to stop this swinging movement by placing his right hand on his opponent's left shoulder.

The two figures on the left and right present greater difficulties of interpretation. The athlete on the left is interpreted by D. Philadelphens and Della Seta as a jumper about to jump. Della Seta suggests as a more probable alternative a runner ready to start at a signal. The figure on the right is identified by Philadelphens and Della Seta alike as a javelin-thrower preparing to throw his javelin.

Della Seta, in fact, sees here four out of the five games of the pentathlon—the discus-thrower being omitted for reasons of symmetry.

These interpretations of the two figures seem probable and just. But it must be admitted that they destroy the unity of the scene. Sides *a* and *c* alike show a scene with the interest concentrated on the centre and with a decrease of interest in the wings. It is tempting to see in the two side figures of relief

by two athletes acting as umpires, the man on the left keeping the ring, while he on the right prepares to measure the fall of the wrestlers. But it must be admitted that the bulk of comparisons is against this interpretation. Javelin-throwers and jumpers are frequently represented in precisely these attitudes.¹⁴

A close parallel to the jumper is to be found in a small bronze figure in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.¹⁵

Side *c* of this base, though a complete novelty in sculpture, involves no difficulties. The composition shows that the group is a pendant to side *a*, and that side *b* conforms, at least in balance, to both. The greatest interest of the scene is concentrated in the exact centre. To each side the interest radiates outwards and from the intensity at the centre it fades to mere casual interest on the wings. Whether a set combat of cat and dog is indicated is uncertain. The dog—a Laconian courser and not, as Philadelphus says, a 'sheep-dog'¹⁶—is in the attitude not of angry aggression, as Della Seta interprets it, but of excited play which dogs often adopt. The cat, on the other hand, is frightened and enraged. The unfamiliarity of the animal in Greece has prevented the artist with acquainting himself with all its habits. Its tail is, in consequence, depressed rather than erect. The absence of what might be any sort of crisis in the combat is indicated by the slackness of the leashes.

That the contest is a formal one and not a chance meeting of cat and dog is, I think, evident. The other two sculptured faces represent active games of the epheboi; this scene shows them engaged in a pursuit which involves less physical exertion.

Base II. involves far fewer difficulties of interpretation. Sides *a* and *c* represent almost identically the same subject. Della Seta rightly believes that the two sides give the inner and off-side view of the same subject, a technique which suggests comparison with the archaic coins of cities in Magna Graecia, such as Croton and Posidonia, which represent two sides of one type on obverse and reverse. But here there are differences. The charioteer in side *a* has no shield, while in side *c* he wears a shield on his shoulders. The second warrior on side *c* holds a spear which slopes in the reverse direction to that carried by the counterpart on side *a*. There are, in addition, the differences of method already referred to: the spears on side *c* are painted and on side *a* are sculptured. But the reins and goad are painted alike in both. The arrangement of the horses' heads shows a further considerable variation, and the position of the chariot wheels is different.

The intention of the artist, however, remains clear. He obviously intended that the two reliefs should represent different aspects of the same subject.

The central panel—side *b*—like I. *c* is a new addition to our knowledge of Greek sculpture and of Greek life. The identification of the game as one represented by a verb, *κερητιζω*, which has good manuscript authority, is due to the brilliant arguments of M. Oikonomos. The identification of the statue of Isocrates the Orator as a boy *κερητιζων* in the *σφαιρίστρα* of the

¹⁴ N. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, Figs. 90, 100.

¹⁵ Richter, *Met. Mus. Cat.* p. 54, No. 81.

¹⁶ See the hounds of Artemis on the Aktæon vase; and Beazley: *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums*, p. 113.

ἀρρηφόροι on the Acropolis is convincing and attractive, and suggests a reconsideration of some of the passages in ancient writers where *pueri κελυγίζοντες* are mentioned.

The game, in any case, is not of the hockey type, but is a 'single combat' game in which *hooking* is the main activity. There seems little doubt that the stick of the first figure on the left was rendered in paint.

Della Seta acutely suggests that the extreme figure on the right is leaning against a wall. This still further emphasises that the two players on each side are waiting their turn to play and not actually taking part in the game.

A very similar game of the Middle Ages ¹⁷ (Fig. 3), represented in an English miniature of the fourteenth century, may be adduced as a parallel.

Base III, as has been said above, can probably be given a *terminus ante quem* of 509 B.C. This fixing definitely of the artist Endoios as of the pre-Republican period is of great importance. If his monuments were destroyed by the returned exiles it is hardly likely that he worked for them. He was probably replaced by Antenor.

The attribution of Endoios to the Attic-Ionic revival by Dickinson ¹⁸ becomes, therefore, most improbable and the earlier view that he was an Ionian artist working at the court of the tyrant is substantiated.

The *terminus post quem* of Endoios, however, must remain subject to uncertainty, though it can hardly be earlier than 540.

The Ionic origin of Endoios makes more striking a parallel which can be drawn between the painting on Base III. and a fine Ionic relief in the Ince-Blundell collection (Fig. 4). ¹⁹ The figure of the



FIG. 4.—RELIEF IN INCE-BLUNDELL COLLECTION.

base almost certainly held a wand or sceptre. The Ince-Blundell Zeus must have had the sceptre painted in. In any case comparison with the relief makes it more reasonable to identify the painting as a seated Zeus. The inscription 'Ενδοιος καὶ τὸνδ' ἐποίησε would, of course, refer to the statue that stood on the base, which, in view of its destruction, may well have represented one of the Peisistratidae. If, as seems likely, the painting on the base represented Zeus it may commemorate some athletic victory at Olympia. It is unfortunate that the four-lined inscription is undecipherable.

We have seen how far the three bases can be dated and assigned a place in

¹⁷ Royal MS. 10 E. IV. f. 26, in the British Museum, a volume of Canon Law (Decretals of Gregory IX), written in Italy but decorated in England.

¹⁸ *Acrop. Mus. Cat.*, Vol. I., p. 24, note 1, and p. 28.

¹⁹ I am indebted to Mr. B. Ashmole for permission to use this photograph.



FIG. 5.—HEADS FROM BASE I.

the series of Greek art from evidence other than that of the style in which they are rendered. It remains to examine the style of the two sculptured Bases I. and II.

At the outset it is evident that all three sides of Base I. are by the same hand. It is clear, however, that the artist is of a more inventive nature and more unconventional than the majority of the relief-cutters of the sixth or early fifth century. The conventional attitudes of archaic art hardly appear here at all except, perhaps, in the case of the two wrestlers, and here the actual grip rather than its representation is the convention. The whole conception of the three scenes is inspired rather by the inventive spirit of the painter than by the less ingenious mind of the archaic sculptor. At the same time it were wiser to avoid drawing exact comparisons for purposes of dating with vase painting, since it is uncertain whether the development of vase painting runs *exactly* parallel to that of sculpture or not. Comparisons with similar facial and bodily types in vase painting may be comparisons with something that is either too early or too late in date.

The search for parallels must therefore be confined to sculpture, and in the case of Base I. there is no lack of similar work. The parallels suggested by Della Seta are, however, unfortunate.²⁰ He cites Nos. 1332, 670, 672, 673 and 686 in the Acropolis Museum as parallels for the treatment of the hair and No. 269 for similar treatment of hands. But only three of these pieces are of the same period. Nos. 670, 672 and 673 are of the full period of Chiot importation under the Peisistratidae. But No. 1332 belongs to the Attic-Ionic revival, and No. 686 to a still later period after 500, when Peloponnesian influence is predominant. Comparison with all these pieces is impossible. While Nos. 672 and 673 afford some grounds for comparison, 686 is frankly impossible and 1332 not close. The wealth of the Acropolis and National Museums at Athens does, however, provide many closer parallels, and there are others elsewhere. The common factor in all the heads of sides *a*, *b*, and *c* must first be sought (Figs. 5 and 6). It consists, I think, in these details: (*a*) plain almond-shaped eyes stand out in relief and are not worked in detail: all faces alike have these eyes; (*b*) the upper half of the ear is *in every case visible and worked conventionally* in a curve; (*c*) the mouths turn slightly up and there is careful moulding of the cheeks above the corner of the mouth; (*d*) the nose is not in an absolutely straight line with the forehead.

Now the technique of the eye is found both in relief cutting and in miniature sculpture of the Archaic period, but seldom, if ever, in full-size statues. Reliefs and miniature figures are then obviously the better parallels. In the Acropolis Museum, No. 623, a nude and youthful Knight in miniature is an exact parallel for our athletes (Fig. 7). Eyes, hair, cheek and mouth are identical. Nos. 636, 660, small-scale female heads, afford another very close parallel, and a very careful relief, No. 581, of Athena shows an even closer relationship. The large relief No. 1959 in the National Museum on the tombstone of an athlete, again, gives this type of eye and face. A finer relief in Berlin, No. 1531 (Fig. 8), gives the type of face with the nose, lips and cheeks identical, but with the eyelids

²⁰ Dickins, *Acrop. Mus. Cat.* Vol. 1; see under these numbers.



FIG. 6.—HEADS FROM BASE L.

cut. All these, Nos. 623 and 636, 660 and 581 in the Acropolis Museum, are assigned by Dickins to the full period of Chiot art in Attica (between 530 and 510), and the Berlin and Athens Base L. would normally be attributed to the same period.²¹ An athlete from the temple of Ptoan Apollo in Boeotia provides a close analogy in general, and itself probably belongs to the period of redecoration and rebuilding of that temple under the Peisistratidae.²²

The peculiar treatment of the eye, however, lasts beyond the Chiot period in Attic art into the early years of the Attic-Ionic revival; Nos. 639, 642, 645, 649, 651 show various examples of the period 510–500. In view of the strongly Ionian or Chiot characteristics of the heads on side *a* and the closeness of their

²¹ The Berlin relief is wrongly associated by Mr. Seltman (*Athens, its History and Coins*, p. 104), with a group of works of art of a later date.

²² See *B.G.H.* xi, Pl. XIII.; and *ibid.* p. 223, for a dedication by Hipparchus, the son of Peisistratus.



FIG. 7.—STATUETTE IN THE ACROPOLIS MUSEUM.



FIG. 8.—RELIEF IN BERLIN.

comparison with admitted Chiot works, the relief must belong to the period of the Peisistratidae and not to the Republican revival of Attic art. At the same time the peculiar treatment of the eye seems to have come into fashion at the end of the Chiot period and lasted throughout the revival in small works. The date 520-510 for the base seems, therefore, the most probable; the *terminus ante quem* is, in any case, fixed beyond dispute.

With Base II. no such satisfactory parallels are available.

The faces are of much the same general type (Fig. 9) as those on Base I., but there are differences. Such differences may be due largely to the much shallower relief—Base II. has a maximum depth of .005 m. as contrasted with a maximum of .007 m. in Base I. Still the profile is almost identical with that of the faces in Base I. The nose and forehead are not in the same line. The eyes are still rendered in the same protrusive way, though the eyebrows are more definitely indicated. Beards are longer and fuller than in Base I. The greatest difference, perhaps, is in the hair, which is more sketchy and carelessly rendered: the eyes are in general more level, the mouths less curved, and the heads more erect. All these are characteristic of the Attic-Ionic revival of the period after 510, into which, as we have seen, the Ionian tradition of the protruding eye lasts quite clearly.

No comparisons of the faces on this base with those on other sculptures can be established. In other forms of art, however, certain similarities can be made out. The silver tetradrachms of the Thracian Chersonese, usually attributed to Miltiades II., bear as an obverse a head of Athene, helmeted, which compares closely with the heads of the two charioteers (whose sex is uncertain). These coins cannot for historical reasons date much before 500 and are probably later—to judge by the style of the lion on the reverse. The charioteers, further, resemble figures of Athena on vases by Exekias very closely.

But while our search for exact comparisons fails in the case of the faces, greater opportunities present themselves in the other details of the reliefs. The horses' heads and bodies at once suggest a variety of similar reliefs and representations. For the tails of the horses and the chariot an almost exact parallel is to be seen in the relief in the fragmentary slab of a frieze in the Acropolis Museum (No. 1342). Here the proportions and shape of the chariot wheel and the horses' tails are identical. The relief belongs to the period 510-500. The rendering of the driver, however, indicates a period of development rather earlier than that to which our Base II. belongs.

For the horses' heads two very close parallels in sculpture can be adduced. The first, a relief in the Acropolis Museum (No. 1340), which Dickins assigns to the early fifth century, shows exactly the fashion of the mane seen on our reliefs. The mane is hogged and a loose tuft hangs over the animal's forehead.

A second very close parallel is the Cottenham relief, recently published by Mr. A. B. Cook,²⁵ and dated by him to the period 500-490. The mouth and nostril of the horse are more carefully and vividly rendered than in our relief, but the general treatment is much the same. The youth who holds the horse's bridle, however, is of a different type from our athletes and hoplites.

²⁵ *J.H.S.* xxxvii. p. 116 ff.



FIG. 2.—DETAILS OF BASE II.

His features are more clearly cut and the nose and forehead are in the same line. But his fashion of rendering the hair corresponds closely with that of the hockey-players. This particular rendering is seen in the case of two athletic bronzes at Athens,²¹ each of which wears the hair rolled under at the back and up in front, precisely the method, though less clumsily rendered, of the 'hockey-players.' This fashion, according to Mr. Evelyn White, is essentially Attic. Both bronzes date to the early years of the fifth century. Other very close parallels for this method of doing the hair are to be seen in similar bronzes. One from the Acropolis²² is perhaps the closest parallel both in face and in hair treatment. It must belong to the decade 500-490. Another in New York²³ is of later date; it represents a disc-thrower and is one of the finest pre-Phidian bronzes. It can be brought into relation with the work of Kritios and Nesiotes. A third

²¹ *J.H.S.*, xxxvi, p. 10 ff.

²² De Ridder, *Cat. des bronzes trouvées*

sur l'Acropole, No. 740, Pl. IV.

²³ Richter, *Cat. Met. Mus.* No. 78, p. 47.

from Delphi ²² closely resembles the heads of our sculptured base and is nearer to the Cottenham relief. The hair at the back is, however, rolled over in a kind of *κροβύλος*. The Cottenham relief is either by a better artist or belongs to a more developed period. In any case the bulk of the evidence from parallels points to the period 510-490 for Base II. Certainly 510 is a *terminus post quem*. It seems most probable, I think, that the base belongs to the middle or to the second half of this period rather than to its beginning.

S. CASSON.

²² *Fouilles de Delphes*, Pls. V, and VI. Neugebauer, *Antike Bronze-Statuetten*, No 39.

ADDENDUM TO J.H.S., XLIV, pp. 223-253.

In my desire for compression in my article on 'The Establishment of the Classical Type in Greek Art,' I omitted to mention the influence of 'costume' in emancipating the Greek type of body from the dominant Eastern or tropical type with the fashion of the narrow or wasp-like waist. In a few words it may be stated: that, in tropical and in most savage life, the 'loin-cloth' is the common form of dress. In Oriental and Egyptian art this loin-cloth often takes a long, conventional and triangular form. The girdle or belt, which fastens and upholds this loin-cloth, must be tightly drawn round the waist, and then marks a division between the upper and lower body. It thus habituates the eye to this subdivision between the upper and lower body, and has of itself the tendency to introduce the taste for the narrow waist.

The Greek shirt or *chiton*, supplemented or followed by the *peplos* or outer cloak, hides the waist. But, in most cases where the *chiton* only is worn, it is drawn over the belt or thong at the waist in graceful folds, and thus hides the waist-line: In athletic exercises and games, however, the figures were nude, and showed no compression or narrowing of the waist. Even when draped, Greek dress did not tend to produce the 'narrow-waist fashion' which the loin-cloth favoured. But the really efficient cause for the characteristic Hellenic type of the nude body is—as I stated—to be found in the establishment of Greek athletic games and the Ephebic order.

CHARLES WALSTON.

A TAUROBOLIC INSCRIPTION FROM ROME: ΔΕΤΤΕΡΑΙ ΦΡΟΝΤΙΔΕΣ.

A CAREFUL reconsideration of the above document (see *J.H.S.* xliii. 1923, p. 194 sqq.) has led me to the conclusion that, in common with former editors, I had utterly missed its main point, and consequently gone astray on several details. I therefore lay before readers of this *Journal* a recantation of my errors, expressing at the same time my warm thanks to several scholars who have helped me to a truer interpretation, and above all to Dr. L. R. Farnell for a whole series of criticisms and suggestions.

I now regard the date of the inscription, for reasons presently to be stated, as being, not 'about the third century,' but the latter half of the fourth, or, to be specific, the year A.D. 361. Mr. M. N. Tod informs me that the shape and style of the letters are perfectly consistent with this supposition. 'The letters,' he writes, 'are crowded close together and tend to become tall and narrow in a manner which indicates the triumph of the cursive influence over properly epigraphical or monumental script. . . . I think it would probably be found that the writing of *I.G.* xiv. 1018 (dated 370) and 1019 (dated 377) is not very far removed from that of the present text—and both of these relate to Eastern cults.'¹

The central mistake of former interpretations was to suppose that the inscription was taurobolic in the usual sense, i.e. that it recorded the fact of someone having been *taurobolatus*. In accordance with this, I had tried to reduce it to a versified equivalent of the usual formula of such inscriptions, and hence had rejected Fabre's correct interpretation of *εὐρυβίην* as an epithet of Attis, supposing it to be a feminine name. I had also put upon *πάλε*, in l. 3, a sense which it cannot bear; and finally, with my predecessors, I had connected with the well-known twenty-year interval between one receiving of the *taurobolium* and the next the reference to twenty-eight years in the last couplet.

I now give a detailed commentary, omitting, however, those points which were sufficiently cleared up in the former article.

ἔργα νόον προῆξιν βίον ἔξουχον, ἐσθλὰ πρόπαντα
Γα . . . , λίον παπίδω[ν, τ]οῦτο φέρω τὸ θύμα,²

¹ Letter to the author, 10/4/24. His conclusion was arrived at after careful inspection of the photograph in *Not. & Scav.* xix. (1922), p. 81, no other reproduction being available in Oxford. Sig.

Marugeli confirms it, from autopsy of the stone.

² See the forthcoming issue of *Supplementum Epigraphicum*, No. 518, p. 93.

This² is a liturgical formula of Persian origin. See the Gathas, Yasna 33, 14, as translated in Moulton's *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 360. 'As an offering Zarathustra brings the life of his own body, the choiceness of good thought, action and speech, unto Mazdah, unto the Right, Obedience and Dominion.' That the Roman worshippers of Attis had read the Gathas, at any rate in the original, is hardly likely; but the almost verbal agreement shows that fragments of their contents had made their way into Oriental and Orientalising cults other than that of official Persia. The subject of φέρω I now take to be the dedicator, whoever he was; it may also, as Prof. Calder suggests, be θύμα in the sense of θυμέλη, but I consider this less likely. The same friendly critic is of opinion that Γα . . . λίου, in view of the sense of the last couplet, should be either some title of Julian himself, or at least the name of some prominent official. I think, however, that the archigallus might well be said to have restored a cult which the emperor ordered or empowered him to celebrate after a period of suppression. It is perhaps worth pointing out that, if Mr. Hill's Γα[ργε]λίου is right (it at least exactly agrees with the space, spelled as above), the man is conceivably a descendant of that Gargilius Antiquua who was a xvuir a.f. in 204, see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Gargilius*, No. 3.

ὅς δι' Ἡ[α]ς παλίνορσον ἐπ' Εὐρυβίην πάλι ταῦρον
ἤγαγε, καὶ κρείων σύμβολ[ον] εὐτυχίης.

I still find no passage in which εὐρυβίης is used of Attis; but it is used of Hades, *Anth. Pal.* vii. 599, 4. and of Triton in the Orphic *Argonautica*, 339. I do not find that Attis is ever equated to either of these divinities; but—

(1) His death and resurrection would certainly make it far from unnatural that in a syncretistic age epithets appropriate to Hades should be used of him.

(2) εὐρυβίης may be a paraphrase for μέγας, βασιλεὺς, or ὑψιστος, all used of Attis, the first two by Julian (see Hepding, *Attis*, p. 208).

(3) He is equated with Helios, *ibid.* p. 209, n. 2. Compare

εἰς Ζεὺς, εἰς Ἀΐδης, εἰς Ἥλιος, εἰς Διόνυσος

('Orpheus,' *ap.* Macrob., *Saturn.* i. 18, 18; cf. Julian, *Orat.* iv. 136 A).

(4) He is equated with both Zeus (see Rapp in Roscher's *Lexikon*, i. col. 723) and Mén; and Zeus-Mén is called Εὐρυδάμηνός or Οὐρυδάμηνός in Asia Minor; see Ramsay, *Studies in the . . . Eastern Provinces*, p. 359 sqq.

The word παλίνορσον is again very appropriate as a name for Attis, for it means, not simply 'returning,' but rather 'rising again'; see Aesch., *Agam.* 154.

πάλι ταῦρον ἤγαγε κτε. is very doubtful Greek if it means simply 'performed the ceremonies of the taurobolium, etc. a second time,' for it implies that the same bull was used again. It should at least be αἰθεῖς. But it is a perfectly intelligible metonymy for 'brought back the cult of Attis,' the more so as the ram, Attis' own peculiar beast,³ is insisted on.

² See, e.g., Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Attis*, col. 2250-1.

As to my conjecture *δέξας*, I do not insist upon it, but am the more inclined to think it right from the fact that *ἀναδεικνύειν* is a technical word in Asia Minor for dedicating an animal to a god; see O. Kern, *Inscr. von Magnesia*, xcvi. 5-6, 14, 21, 59.

ὁκτὼ γὰρ λυκάβαντας ἐπ' εἰκ[ο]σιν ἡρεμέοντας
νύκτα διασκεδάσας αἰθερὶς ἔθηκε φάος.

Why should the period intervening between one taurobolium and another, or any part thereof, be described as 'night'? The word, in this context, would almost connote damnation, and surely the soul of a pious votary of the Great Mother was not in such deadly peril if he was merely slow to renew an experience which seems after all to have been a work rather of supererogation than of obligation. Moreover, the words *ἔθηκε φάος* are so reminiscent of, e.g., Z 6 (Aias) *φάος ἐπάροισιν ἔθηκε*, that one is almost compelled to supply a plural. It was a darkness affecting more than one, a whole 'army' of believers, that was thus dispelled. This darkness I take to have been no other than the black night of 'atheism,' i.e. the triumph of Christianity. The period alluded to is the combined reigns of Constant (Caesar, 322-350; his domains included Italy) and Constantius II (Augustus, 337-361). The former was a fanatical Christian and suppressed pagan cults in his dominions¹; the latter's abandonment of his father's wholesome policy of all-round toleration is well known. No one who has studied the religious history of that period needs to be told that, while the respectable and harmless official cults of Rome were winked at by the earlier Christian emperors, the whole power, intellectual and material, of the Church was directed against the Oriental mystery-cults; and not least against that of Attis, which was, on the other hand, especially favoured by Julian; see his fifth oration. Constantius seems to have meddled but little with the affairs of Rome, but such performances as the taurobolium were decidedly under a cloud in his day.

The inscription is therefore a new and most welcome document of the short-lived pagan revival under Julian; it is full of the technical phraseology of the cult, echoing ancient Oriental literature in its opening words and alluding in the tone of its concluding lines (or rather the last surviving ones, for there was more of it on the altar) to the well-known connection in ritual confessions between the fate of the god and that of his worshippers.² It may be thus translated:—

'I present in this offering the works, thought, action, excellence of life, and all the goodness of wise Ga . . . lios; for he dedicated and brought once more unto the Mighty One that rose again the Bull and the Ram that is the symbol of fair hap. Yea, he scattered the darkness that had endured eight-and-twenty barren years, and made the light of salvation to shine again.'

H. J. ROSE.

¹ Authorities in Seeck, *Pauly-Wissowa*, s.v. *Constantia*, col. 950.

² *ἁπλῆς μίτρας τοῦ θεοῦ σωτηρίας*,
ἔρται γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐκ τούτου σωτηρία.
Firmicus Maternus, *De Erroribus*, 28, 1.

THE PROGRESS OF GREEK EPIGRAPHY, 1923-1924

(Continued from p. 119.)

V. EPIRUS, MACEDONIA, THRACE, SCYTHIA ²²⁵

[*I.G. x.*] Various potters' names on ancient lamps now preserved in the Museum at Preveza have been published ²²⁶ by A. Philadelphus. G. Seure devotes two articles to votive reliefs belonging to the Belgrade Museum which have remained unpublished or have disappeared; in the first of these ²²⁷ no inscriptions are actually published, but notes are given on the history and provenance of the stones, the Thracian names and certain curious types of the 'Dieu Cavalier,' while the second ²²⁸ contains a descriptive catalogue of twenty portrayals of various divinities and dedications to the hunter-god, of which, however, only two, both from Philippopolis, bear Greek inscriptions. M. N. Tod has completed ²²⁹ his discussion of the Macedonian era, drawing up lists of (a) Macedonian inscriptions dated by the Augustan era only and of (b) those dated by one unspecified era, and concluding that almost all, if not all, of those in the latter category refer to the provincial era of 148 B.C. Ten inscriptions—one votive and the rest sepulchral—from Epidamnus, attributable apparently to the second or first century B.C., were published ²³⁰ by S. Lambros, while C. Praschniker, in his account ²³¹ of his archaeological exploration of Middle Albania, gives a detailed description of various ancient sites, notably those of Apollonia, Nymphaeum and Byllis, and of the Via Egnatia and publishes thirteen epitaphs, six tile-stamps, a dedication to Aesclepius, an honorary inscription and an interesting epigram of Justinian's reign, commemorating the work of the prefect Victorinus. ²³² To F. Bulić we owe our knowledge of an inscribed gem from Salona. ²³³ G. I. Kazarov has collected ²³⁴ in the districts of Mariovo and Prilep, in W. Macedonia, a Latin boundary-inscription of Hadrian's reign and thirteen Greek texts, several of which have since received needed correction. ²³⁵ Three dedications, found near Kozani and now preserved there, have been copied and edited ²³⁶ by A. D. Keramopoulos. A journey in Pieria, Emathia and Bottiaea made by G. Blum and A. Plassart in 1914 resulted

²²⁵ *Ath. Mitt.* xlv. 10 ff., *S.E.G.* i. Cf. *S.E.G.* ii. 361 ff.
²²⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 361 ff.
²²⁷ *Arch. Ep.* 1922, 66 ff.
²²⁸ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxv. 305 ff.
²²⁹ *Ibid.* xxvi. 30 ff.
²³⁰ *B.S.A.* xxiv. 64 ff.
²³¹ *Nouv. Éλληνισμολογία*, xvi. 340 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* i. 234 ff., *B.C.H.* xlv. 317 f.
²³² *Jahreshefte*, xxi-xxii. Beiblatt, 5 ff.
²³³ *Ibid.* 194, No. 9. Cf. *S.E.G.* ii. 377.
²³⁴ *Bull. Arch. Dalm.* xlv. 37. Cf. *S.E.G.* i. 326.
²³⁵ *B.C.H.* xlvii. 275 ff.
²³⁶ *S.E.G.* ii. 436 ff.
²³⁷ *Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Μερυδάσει Ἐλλάδι*, 1922, 307 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* i. 267 ff.

in the discovery of a large number of inscriptions; many of these appeared in 1915 in G. P. Oikonomos' *Ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας*, and the remainder have now been published²³⁷ by Plassart (Blum was among the victims of the war), who corrects a number of texts given by earlier editors, especially Oikonomos, and adds about a score hitherto unpublished, of which the most important are an emancipation-record from Seydra and part of a letter addressed to Beroea by Hadrian. The present writer has published²³⁸ an honorary inscription of the third century A.D. from Thessalonica, recording the distinctions of a certain Geminus Macedo, the first Thessalonian to preside over the Attic Panhellenium, and has discussed in detail this institution of Hadrian: he has added²³⁹ two epitaphs copied by A. J. B. Wace at Galatista in Chalcidice and has claimed²⁴⁰ for the neighbourhood of Potidaea a dedication assigned²⁴¹ by P. Foucart to Ephesus. In two articles dealing with the sites of Spartolus, Scione, Mende and Torone, B. D. Meritt gives²⁴² four unpublished texts copied by him in the district of Olynthus and one near Torone. An interesting, but incomplete, dedication from Amphipolis has been reproduced²⁴³ by E. Pelekides. A. Salat has dealt in an epigraphical article²⁴⁴ with the region of Pangaeum, Drama and Cavalla; of the forty-two texts which it contains the great majority are in Latin and of the remainder only half were unpublished. The same scholar also gives²⁴⁵ thirty-six inscriptions from the neighbourhood of Philippi, most of which, as was to be expected, are in Latin: of the new Greek texts two metrical epitaphs are the most interesting (Nos. 2, 3). Two reliefs from the theatre of Philippi, dedicated to Nemesis and to Nike by a priest of 'invincible Nemesis' in the second or third century A.D., are discussed²⁴⁶ by F. Chapouthier, and C. Picard has devoted a long and masterly essay²⁴⁷ to the gods of Philippi about the first century of our era, based primarily on the evidence of rock-cut ex-votos, a few of which are Greek (pp. 181 ff., 193). In an article²⁴⁸ on the god Heron in Thrace and in Egypt G. Capovilla reviews the evidence, almost wholly epigraphical, for the cult of this deity, and comes to the conclusion that his real name was *Ἡραρ*, later transformed into *Ἡρας* under Greek influence, that the cult originated in Thrace and that it was introduced into Egypt by Thracian mercenaries early in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

G. Seure pursues the investigation into Thracian archaeology, to which he has devoted many years. His work on the Belgrade Museum has been mentioned above. He also continues his studies of 'unpublished or little-known documents,' calling attention²⁴⁹ to a number of votive objects, some of them inscribed, from the tumulus of Sveti Kirilovo, excavated by Kazarov, and

²³⁷ *B.C.H.* xlvii. 103 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* ii. 389 ff.

²³⁸ *J.H.S.* xlii. 107 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* ii. 419.

²³⁹ *Ibid.* 180 f.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 181 ff.

²⁴¹ *Rev. Phil.* xlii. 60 ff.

²⁴² *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxvii. 335 ff., 460.

²⁴³ *Disserted.* 1920, 88. Cf. R. M. Pope, *Here and There in the Historic Near East*, London, 1923, 33 ff.

²⁴⁴ *B.C.H.* xlvii. 49 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* ii. 415 ff., *B.C.H.* xlv. 531 ff.

²⁴⁵ *B.C.H.* xlvii. 80 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* ii. 423 ff.

²⁴⁶ *B.C.H.* xlviii. 287 ff.

²⁴⁷ *Rev. Hist. Bel.* lxxxvi. 117 ff.; also published separately.

²⁴⁸ *Riv. Fil.* ii. 424 ff.

²⁴⁹ *Rev. Arch.* xvii. (1923), 1 ff.

also ²⁵⁰ to twelve amphora-stamps from the necropolis of Sozopolis and from near Burgas and to other minor finds. He has, further, compiled a catalogue, ²⁵¹ without texts, of the antiquities, which include thirty-five inscriptions, of Apollonia on the Pontus. Among the discoveries made in the necropolis of Philippopolis by B. Diakovitch is ²⁵² that of an inscribed bronze ring, and a dedication to Zeus Ὑψίστος found near the same town has been discussed ²⁵³ by R. Cagnat. G. I. Kazarov has published ²⁵⁴ three dedications and an epitaph now preserved in the National Museum at Sofia, I. Ivanov has added ²⁵⁵ a number of votive and other inscriptions at Sofia and Klisendil, I. Velkof has contributed ²⁵⁶ a fragmentary decree and an early epitaph from Mesembria, and a series of other texts found in Bulgaria have been edited or discussed by Kazarov ²⁵⁷ and others. ²⁵⁸ T. Macridy and J. Ebersolt have published ²⁵⁹ two epitaphs, and a fragment of a third, from Constantinople; the most interesting is the epitaph, found at Top-Hane, of a Christian ἀποθηκάριος from Cotiaenum. In an appendix to his essay on the early Christian ecclesiastical province of Scythia (Tomis), R. Netzhammer gives ²⁶⁰ a list of the thirty-five old Christian inscriptions of the Dobrudja, of which twenty-five are Greek or bilingual. V. Pärvan has published ²⁶¹ fifty-nine inscriptions found during the excavation of Istria in 1916, 1921 and 1922, including several interesting lists of names and fragments of decrees, while of two of the Istrian texts previously published, notably the long list of γεροντισταί (*S.E.G.* i. 330), he makes considerable use in his essay ²⁶² on the beginnings of Roman culture at the mouths of the Danube. Several of the inscriptions from Istria and one from Callatis ²⁶³ published by Pärvan have been re-edited ²⁶⁴ with restorations and a commentary by A. Wilhelm. Of S. Russia I have practically nothing to record, perhaps because I have been unable to consult the pertinent periodicals. A vase from the Crimea inscribed ὩΠΑ appears in the catalogue of a Paris sale on June 13th and 14th, 1924, and A. Wilhelm has essayed ²⁶⁵ the restoration of a decree of Chersonesus. Otherwise I know only what is contained in a useful summary ²⁶⁶ of Russian archaeological publications since 1914.

VI. THE ISLANDS OF THE AEGEAN ²⁶⁷

[*I.G.* xi.] Excellent progress has been made with the task of rendering the inscriptions of DELOS available for historical and linguistic study, and it is

²⁵⁰ *Rev. Arch.* xix. (1924), 330 f., 346 f.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.* 349 f.

²⁵² *Ibid.* xviii. (1923), 353.

²⁵³ *Ibid.* xx. (1924), 47 f. See also *B.C.H.* xlvii. 541.

²⁵⁴ *Bull. Soc. Arch. Bulg.* vii. 2 ff.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 75 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* i. 297-312 (and p. 138), 316.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 155 f. Cf. *S.E.G.* i. 313 f.

²⁵⁷ *Ann. Mus. Sofia*, 1921, 149, 200 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* i. 317 ff., *Arch. Anz.* xxxvii. 193.

²⁵⁸ *Bull. Soc. Arch. Bulg.* vii. 154 (*S.E.G.* i. 315), *Ann. Mus. Sofia*, 1921, 214 (*S.E.G.* i. 324), R. Zahn, *Neumündschigster Winkelmannsprogramm*, Berlin, 1923 (*S.E.G.* ii.

443), *Mélanges F. Gröh*, 132 (*S.E.G.* ii. 444 f.), *S.E.G.* i. 325.

²⁵⁹ *R.C.H.* xvi. 356 ff.

²⁶⁰ *Studia Bulgarica*, 409 ff.

²⁶¹ *Histria* vii, Bucarest, 1923. Cf. *S.E.G.* ii. 446 ff.

²⁶² *Ausonia*, x. 187 ff.

²⁶³ *Annali Acad. Rom.* xxxix. (inaccessibile to me).

²⁶⁴ *Wien. Anz.* 1922, 72 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* i. 327 ff.

²⁶⁵ *Wien. Anz.* 1924, 133.

²⁶⁶ *Arch. Anz.* xxxvii. 139 f.

²⁶⁷ *Ath. Mitt.* xvi. 13 ff., *S.E.G.* i. 334 ff.

earnestly to be hoped that some means will be found of completing within a reasonable time the two remaining parts of *I.G.* xi. Meanwhile the sumptuous volumes of the *Exploration Archéologique de Délos*, though devoted mainly to architectural and topographical questions, make some incidental contributions to epigraphy. In his examination²⁶⁸ of the 'Quartier du Théâtre,' J. Chamouard says something about the *graffiti*, which will be fully published later, and summarises the few inscriptions found in this part of the site, while R. Vallois, in dealing²⁶⁹ with the Portico of Philip, discusses at length its dedication, shows the use made of ancient masons' marks in the reconstruction of buildings and deals, usually very summarily, with the more important texts discovered near the portico. For epigraphists and historians, however, greater interest attaches to the second fascicule of F. Durrbach's *Choix d'Inscriptions de Délos*,²⁷⁰ which completes the first volume of that admirable selection; of the 117 inscriptions which it contains, arranged chronologically from 166 B.C. to the end of paganism, four are Latin and several bilingual. An appendix showing the various states which are proved by their decrees and dedications to have had relations with Délos between 314 and 166 B.C. adds to the value of the work. Of E. Ziebarth's survey of the work done on Delian inscriptions from 1894 to 1919 mention was made at the beginning of this Bibliography.²⁷¹ The 'Researches on the Topography of the Delian Hieron' of C. Picard and J. Replat deal only incidentally with epigraphical materials.²⁷² M. Lacroix has reopened²⁷³ the problem of the chronology of the Delian archons towards the close of the fourth century B.C. and has reached a conclusion almost identical with that of Durrbach.²⁷⁴ P. Schoch devotes an essay²⁷⁵ to the temple accounts of the period of the island's independence (315-166 B.C.), calling attention to the valuable light they throw not only on the property and revenues of the sanctuary but also upon the economic and social aspects of contemporary life, e.g. the rise and fall of wages, rents and prices. A. Wilhelm restores²⁷⁶ an inscription—carried off to Paros and so published among the inscriptions of that island (*I.G.* xii. 5. 271)—in honour of an Athenian and corrects two Delian texts referring to his son; he also exposes²⁷⁷ the errors in a recent publication of a bilingual text taken from Délos to Athens (*C.I. Sem.* i. 114). A. Jardé discusses²⁷⁸ the interpretation of a passage in the law regulating the sale of wood and charcoal (*S.I.G.*³ 975), J. Zingerle deals²⁷⁹ with a *lex sacra* of the island, and M. Lacroix contributes²⁸⁰ notes and suggestions on twenty-eight inscriptions published in *I.G.* xi.

[*I.G.* xii.] The towers on the Greek islands, notably Calymnus, Cos and Carpathus, have been discussed²⁸¹ by H. A. Ormerod with special reference to

²⁶⁸ viii. (1), Paris (Boccard), 1922, 203 ff., 218.

²⁶⁹ vii. (1), 1923, 4 ff., 63 ff., 113 ff., 122 ff., 152 ff.

²⁷⁰ Paris (Lecaux), 1923. Cf. *Journ. d. Savants*, 1924, 103 ff., 163 ff., *Orient. Lit.* xxviii. 210 f.

²⁷¹ *Supra*, p. 102. Cf. *S.E.G.* i. 340.

²⁷² *B.C.H.* xlviii. 217 ff.

²⁷³ *Ibid.* xlvii. 430 ff.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.* xl. 340 ff.

²⁷⁵ *Neue Jahrb.* xl. 77 ff.

²⁷⁶ *Wien. Ant.* 1924, 126 f.

²⁷⁷ *Phd. Woch.* xliii. 693 f. Cf. E. Ziebarth, *Bursians Jahresbericht*, xciii. 73.

²⁷⁸ *B.C.H.* xlvii. 301 ff.

²⁷⁹ *Strena Bulliana*, 190 I.

²⁸⁰ *Rev. Et. Gr.* xxxv. 415 ff. Cf. *B.C.H.* xlvii. 540.

²⁸¹ *Liverpool Annals*, xi. 31 ff.

their purpose as indicated by their inscriptions (*S.I.G.*³ 567-70). The article²⁸² of F. von Hiller and M. Crispi dealing with certain types of Greco-Roman vessels in the light of six inscriptions of Rhodes, Lindus, Nisyros and Paros is inaccessible to me. A Mainini has published²⁸³ a stele of local marble, found in 1919 in the south-eastern necropolis of Ratonnes: the inscription, of which only the lower portion survives, dates from the first half of the second century B.C. and is of considerable importance for the study of the associations which in the Hellenistic period flourished in a cosmopolitan trading-centre like Rhodes. It bears on the obverse two decrees of the Ἀφροδισιασταὶ Ἐρμογένησιοι designed to secure a public record of the ἀμφουριασμοὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ κοινῇ ἐγγυαίων καὶ τῶν ταφῶν, and on the reverse the transcription of a passage from the acta of the association, of which this is the first record. Even more interesting, because unique, is the discovery, made in 1921 and published²⁸⁴ by the same scholar, of a factory of Rhodian amphorae at Villanova, in the territory of Ialysus, containing a stock of no fewer than 500 jars and affording an immense accession of material for the study of the Rhodian amphora-stamps. A. Wilhelm has solved²⁸⁵ some of the problems presented by a well-known Rhodian inscription (*I.G.* xii. 1. 4) relative to the ἐλαιοθεσία and has also restored²⁸⁶ a mutilated passage in the 'Lindian Chronicle,' to the study of which G. C. Richards²⁸⁷ and J. Zingerle²⁸⁸ have also contributed. N. D. Chavarras has commented²⁸⁹ on another Lindian text (*ibid.* 893) and has annotated or corrected²⁹⁰ twelve Rhodian inscriptions which originally appeared in *Annuario*, ii. 133 ff. D. Eumgelides has collected²⁹¹ on the island of Lesbos twenty-one Greek inscriptions and a Latin dedication to Silvanus (No. 4) and has corrected two published texts: the most important of the new finds is a decree of the *réoi* (No. 1) resolving to give to the state χρήματα ἀναγκαίητα up to the amount of 3100 staters in view of the sufferings brought upon the city by famine, heavy taxation and the alliance with Rome in 'the present war,' which the editor interprets as referring to the war with Aristonicus. Among the ritual-regulations examined by J. Zingerle²⁹² is one from Ereans (*Leg. graec. sacrae*, ii. 117). Chavarras has made twenty-nine additions²⁹³ to the epigraphical records of Syme, Telos and Leros, of which the most interesting is a fragmentary decree (No. 13) relative to coinage and minting. F. von Hiller has pointed out²⁹⁴ that what has been regarded as an Ionicism in an Astypalaean inscription (*I.G.* xii. 3. 241) is in reality Dorian, and P. Graindor has re-examined²⁹⁵ a Melian epitaph (*ibid.* 1224). E. Ziebarth has made use²⁹⁶ of epigraphical evidence, including passages from unpublished texts, for the banking system at Cos in the Hellenistic period. R. McKenzie has explained²⁹⁷ a curious word-

²⁸² *Διαγροφία*, vii. 56 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* i. 345.

²⁸³ *Annuario*, iv, v. 223 ff.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 240 ff.

²⁸⁵ *Wien. Anz.* 1924, 134 ff.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 1922, 70 ff.

²⁸⁷ *Class. Rev.* xxxvii. 140 f.

²⁸⁸ *Strenus Bullschinn*, 184 ff.

²⁸⁹ *ApX.* 'Ep. 1922, 52.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 49 ff.

²⁹¹ *ApX.* Δ'Αν. vi. 99 ff.

²⁹² *Strenus Bullschinn*, 188 ff.

²⁹³ *ApX.* 'Ep. 1922, 30 ff. Cf. *B.C.H.* xlvii. 544, *Zeits. f. Num.* xxxv. 217 ff.

²⁹⁴ *Zeits. vergl. Spr.* ii. 27.

²⁹⁵ *Rev. Arch.* xix. (1924), 150 ff.

²⁹⁶ *Zeits. f. Num.* xxxiv. 30 ff., 178. Cf. *S.E.G.* i. 344.

²⁹⁷ *Class. Qu.* xvii. 196 f.

form in a Coan *lex sacra* (*S.I.G.*² 1027), and A. Wilhelm has sought²⁹⁸ to establish the date of a famous Calymnian document (*ibid.* 953) in the British Museum recording a Cnidian arbitration in a dispute between Calymnus and certain Coan citizens, and has incidentally dealt fully with the date of a Milesian decree erected at Cos (*S.I.G.*² 590). O. Rubensohn has identified²⁹⁹ the Delium of Paros by epigraphical evidence not yet fully published, a third-century decree and two other texts from Siphnos have been copied³⁰⁰ by G. Welter, and the inscriptions of Ceos have supplied the basis of H. Swoboda's account³⁰¹ of the Cean *συμπολιτεία*. Nine new inscriptions of SAMOS have been published³⁰² by M. Schede, comprising two third-century decrees, three dedications, three inscriptions on statue-bases and a catalogue of *νεώπολοι*; A. Wilhelm has corrected, restored or commented upon³⁰³ several Samian texts, notably the decree in honour of Bulagoras (*Ath. Mitt.* xlv. 25 ff., No. 13), which has also been discussed by E. Ziebarth in an article³⁰⁴ on Samian finance and corn-supply, which also throws new light upon the famous Samian corn-law of the second century B.C. (*S.I.G.*² 976). The most important new discovery in THASOS is an archaic ritual of the cult of Heracles, carefully edited³⁰⁵ by C. Picard; the report of the Thasian excavations of 1921-22 refers³⁰⁶ to a dedication to Dionysus, while the inscribed base of a statue found in the sanctuary of Artemis Polo at Thasos, now preserved in the Museum at Constantinople,³⁰⁷ helps M. Schede to date³⁰⁸ the activity of the sculptor Philiscus of Rhodes about 100 B.C. A. Georgiades has published³⁰⁹ five Eretrian epitaphs, and B. Leonardos³¹⁰ and A. Wilhelm³¹¹ have made suggestions relative to an Eretrian and a Chalcidian text respectively.

[I.G. xiii.] Of the prehistoric scripts of CRETE something has already been said,³¹² and here I shall refer only to the Greek inscriptions of the island. M. Muttelsee has dealt, in a Hamburg dissertation not yet published,³¹³ with the constitutional history of Crete in the Hellenistic period: he has collected and examined the eighty-nine inscriptions which record treaties between Cretan cities and has proposed restorations in several of them. F. Bechtel has investigated³¹⁴ the Cretan form *προστακῶτος* and brought out its interest for Homeric textual criticism. A fragmentary treaty of the late fourth century B.C., found near the village of Keramé on the south coast of Crete, has been published³¹⁵ by N. G. Pappadakis. B. Lavagnini has given us³¹⁶ an inscription of Gortyn,

²⁹⁸ *Wien. Anz.* 1924, 136 ff.

²⁹⁹ *Arch. Anz.* xxviii./ix. 118 f. Cf. *S.E.G.* i. 345. A. Wilhelm, *Wien. Anz.* 1924, 126 f., l. T. Kakrides, *Ἀθηνά*, xxxiv. 125 ff.

³⁰⁰ *S.E.G.* i. 346 ff. Cf. *Πραγμ.*, 1920, 160.

³⁰¹ *Wien. Stab.* cxxix. 2. 38 ff. For Tenos see *Πραγμ.*, 1920, 160.

³⁰² *S.E.G.* i. 358-9, 371, 373, 379, 393, 398, 402, 406.

³⁰³ *Wien. Anz.* 1924, 108 ff.

³⁰⁴ *Zeits. f. Num.* xxxiv. 356 ff.

³⁰⁵ *B.C.H.* xlvii. 241 ff. Cf. *ibid.* xlv. 537 f.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.* xlvii. 335; cf. 351, 346.

³⁰⁷ *Catalogue*, iii. 557 ff., No. 1352.

³⁰⁸ *Röm. Mitt.* xxxv. 65 ff., 82.

³⁰⁹ *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1922, 83 ff.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.* 108.

³¹¹ *Wien. Anz.* 1924, 136.

³¹² See references in footnotes 35-39.

³¹³ Cf. *S.E.G.* i. 416.

³¹⁴ *Festschrift A. Reizenberger dargebracht* (Göttingen, 1921): *mit Gott. Gel. Anz.* clxxxiv. 262.

³¹⁵ *Ἀφύρα* etc. Γ. Ν. Χατζιδάκις, 72 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* i. 410.

³¹⁶ *Riv. Indo-germ.-Ital.* vi. 242 ff. Cf. *Rev. Arch.* xx. (1924), 413.

dating probably from the third century A.D., set up in honour of an otherwise unknown *quaestor pro praetore* by a former chief priest of the *κοινὸν τῶν Κρητῶν* who had been his fellow-student: a short inscription from the same site has been copied and published³¹⁷ by G. Patriarca. More interesting, however, than these are the four texts discovered by S. Xanthoudides. Two of these³¹⁸ were unearthed in 1918 near the village of Kounávi (Eltynaea), fourteen kilometres south of Candia—(i) a *βουστροφηδόν* fragment of eleven lines containing apparently part of a law dealing with assault, interesting alike for its content, its language and its writing, and assignable to the seventh or early sixth century B.C., and (ii) a sixth-century dedication, also engraved *βουστροφηδόν*. The remaining two,³¹⁹ found at Itanus, are (iii) a long text containing portions of ninety-six lines, dealing with the territorial dispute between Itanus and Hierapytna and so related to the famous arbitration-record *S.I.G.*² 929, and (iv) a new and more perfect copy of a decree in honour of Patroclus, the admiral and general of Ptolemy Philadelphus, about 256 B.C. (cf. *S.G.D.I.* 5059).

VII. WESTERN EUROPE

[*I.G.* xiv.] SICILY has produced no inscriptions of outstanding importance, but a Syracusan text,³²⁰ a bilingual dedication to Priapus from Acireale, published³²¹ by G. Libertini and restored³²² by R. Sabbadini and C. O. Zuretti, and an *emptio sepulcri* from Catana³²³ deserve notice. E. Schwyzer has discussed³²⁴ the *defixiones* found at Selinus,³²⁵ and A. Olivieri has restored³²⁶ a passage in a well-known inscription of Tauromenium (*I.G.* xiv. 432).

ITALY plays a larger part in our record. A phrase in an inscription of Rhogium (*I.G.* xiv. 616) forms the starting-point of an article³²⁷ by A. Olivieri on *οἱ ἀλειφόμενοι* and their relation to the *ἰφηβοί*. A gold leaf has been discovered in a tomb at Brindisi bearing a text which D. Comparetti interprets³²⁸ as an ancient piece of proverbial philosophy and A. Olivieri³²⁹ with greater probability as a magical formula. G. Mancini³³⁰ and O. Marucchi³³¹ have published and discussed the epigraphical discoveries made in the course of excavations beneath the basilica of S. Sebastiano; W. A. Dittmer, in a dissertation³³² which I have been unable to consult, deals with the fragments of the Athenian comic didascaliae found at Rome (*I.G.* xiv. 1097-98a); the correct reading of the inscription on a bust in the Vatican (*ibid.* 1211) plays an important part in the spirited discussion³³³ roused by T. Reinach's attempt³³⁴ to show that the so-called Sophocles of the Lateran represents in reality not Sophocles but

³¹⁷ *S.E.G.* i. 415.

³¹⁸ *Apx.* 'Ep. 1920, 75 ff.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.* 81 ff. Cf. *Apx. Δελ.* vi. 163 f.

³²⁰ *Riv. indo-gréco-ital.* vii. 294 ff.

³²¹ *Notizie*, 1922, 493 ff.

³²² *Boll. fil. class.* xxx. 19 f. Cf. *Phil. Woch.* xliii. 931.

³²³ *Notizie*, 1924, 108.

³²⁴ *Rhein. Mus.* lxxvii. 426 ff.

³²⁵ *Rendiconti d. Lincei*, xxvii. 193 ff.

³²⁶ *Riv. indo-gréco-ital.* vii. 171.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, vii. 169 ff.

³²⁸ *Notizie*, 1923, 207 f.

³²⁹ *Riv. indo-gréco-ital.* vii. 215 ff.

³³⁰ *Notizie*, 1923, 31, 35, 48 f., 66 ff.

³³¹ *Ibid.* 96 f.

³³² Lehten, Brill, 1923. Cf. *Phil. Woch.* xiv. 1 ff.

³³³ *J.H.S.* xliii. 57 ff. (*cf. Studniczka*), xlv. 54 (*W. Ameling*).

³³⁴ *Ibid.* xliii. 50 ff., xliii. 149 ff.

Solon; M. Schede has examined³³³ the letter-forms found on the relief by Archelaus of Priene representing the apotheosis of Homer (*ibid.* 1295) and concluded that in all probability the work dates from about 125 B.C.; B. Manna investigates³³⁴ the language and technical terms employed in the inscriptions of the Jewish Cemetery on the Via Nomentana, and E. Gatti publishes³³⁵ a statue-base bearing the signature of an Athenian sculptor, Lycius son of Ctesidemus. Under the title 'Un autel du culte phrygien au Musée du Latran' P. Fabre discusses³³⁶ a curious epigram found in 1919 and published³³⁷ in 1922 by O. Marzocchi and D. Comparetti, seeing in it not an epitaph but a dedication recording the second taurobollic initiation of a certain Gamalias (?) after an interval of twenty-eight years. An independent restoration and explanation, differing in some points from that of Fabre, is suggested³³⁸ by H. J. Rose, who believes that the monument belongs to about the third century A.D. and commemorates the experience of Eurybia, who had for the second time undergone the rite of the *taurobolium*. This interpretation, however, does not clear up all the problems raised by the inscription and we may hope that further light will soon be thrown on this mysterious text. A striking and perfectly preserved epigram from Puteoli has been published³³⁹ by A. Olivieri. The remarkable alphabet of Marsiliana referred to in my last Bibliography (*J.H.S.* xliii, 32) has been admirably illustrated in one of our weekly journals³⁴⁰ and fully discussed in an important article³⁴¹ by A. Grenier, who, dating it about 700 B.C., calls attention to its value as evidence for the origin of writing in Etruria and at Rome. He combats Minto's view that the alphabet here represented is Chalcidian and maintains that this Greek alphabet, which is at the same time early Etruscan, goes back to a period before the Greek colonisation of Italy and antedates the division of the Greek alphabets into Eastern and Western groups. The Romans, he argues, learned their script from the Etruscans and not directly from any of the Greek settlements on the Italian coast.

Of the remaining inscriptions found in Italy—at Taras,³⁴² Lavello (Basilicata),³⁴³ Pompeii,³⁴⁴ Cumae,³⁴⁵ Rome,³⁴⁶ Veii,³⁴⁷ Civitavecchia³⁴⁸ and Aquileia³⁴⁹—I cannot here speak in detail.

SPAIN is represented by an interesting, if somewhat puzzling, dedication to a group of Syrian deities, dating from the third century A.D., which has come to light at Cordova and has been edited³⁵⁰ by F. von Hiller and discussed in

³³³ *Röm. Mitt.* xxxv, 69 ff.

³³⁴ *Bull. com. arch. com.* 1, 205 ff.

³³⁵ *Notizie*, 1923, 248.

³³⁶ *Mélanges Rome*, xi, 3 ff. Cf. *C. R. Acad. Inscr.* 1923, 253 ff., *Rev. Arch.* xviii, (1923), 301.

³³⁷ *Notizie*, 1922, 31 ff. Cf. *Ann. d. Pontif. Accad. Rom.* II, xv, 271 ff.

³³⁸ *J.H.S.* xliii, 194 ff.

³³⁹ *Atti. Accad. Napoli*, N.S. viii, 112 ff. Cf. *Rev. Fil.* lli, 131 f.

³⁴⁰ *Il. London News*, 1924, 108.

³⁴¹ *Mélanges Rome*, xli, 3 ff.

³⁴² *Jahreshefte*, xxi-xxii, Beiblatt, 269 ff.

³⁴³ *Rev. indo-grec-lat.* viii, 151.

³⁴⁴ *Notizie*, 1922, 481, 484 f., 1923, 287.

³⁴⁵ *Phil. Woch.* xlv, 396.

³⁴⁶ *Notizie*, 1922, 222; 1923, 173, 248, 370, 391; 1924, 55; *Bull. com. arch. com.* 1, 72 ff., li, 136 f., *Ann. Journ. Arch.* xxviii, 251 f.

³⁴⁷ *Notizie*, 1922, 400.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 1923, 343.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 224 ff.

³⁵⁰ *Arch. Rd.* xxii, 117 ff.

greater detail by E. Littmann, W. Weber and O. Weinreich. W. Deonna has published³³³ inscribed objects of various provenances, known or unknown, now preserved in the Museum at Geneva, and G. Home has given in his book on Roman York facsimiles and some account³³⁴ of the bronze tablets found there bearing dedications of a certain Demetrius (*I.G.* xiv. 2548). At Hoby, on the island of Lolland (Denmark), two silver vases have been discovered signed by their maker, Chrisophus.³³⁵

VIII. ASIA MINOR

Despite political conditions which were still unfavourable to archaeological work, Asia Minor produced in the years under review an epigraphical harvest remarkable alike for its richness and for its variety.

The first instalment of H. Grégoire's *Corpus of the Greek Christian inscriptions of Asia Minor*³³⁶ marks the successful inauguration of a difficult and important enterprise. It contains about 500 texts, of which forty-nine are new, from the Hellespont, Asia, the Islands, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia and Lydia, and comprises not only all the Christian inscriptions of the first four centuries, but also many documents bearing the names of Christian Emperors or their ministers, all texts falling between 395 and 1453 A.D. and a few of a later date. Two further fascicules covering the remainder of Asia Minor and one containing the Introduction and Indexes will complete the work. A wealth of epigraphical material is also stored in the *Festschrift*³³⁷ dedicated to Sir W. M. Ramsay, to which is prefixed (p. xiii ff.) a bibliography of the epigraphical and other writings published by that eminent scholar from 1879 to 1923. W. Arkwright's discussion (p. 15 ff.) of the Lycian epitaphs, though dealing mainly with those in the native script and language, makes frequent use of Greek texts, especially those of bilingual inscriptions. W. H. Buckler's valuable article (p. 27 ff.) on labour disputes in the province of Asia is based entirely on epigraphical evidence and provides improved editions of the edict called forth by the bakers' strike at Ephesus, a fragment relating to labour troubles at Pergamum, a record of the settlement of a building dispute at Miletus and a sworn declaration of the Builders' Union at Sardis, made with a view of averting strikes. W. M. Calder deals fully with a subject on which he is pre-eminently qualified to speak, the light thrown by inscriptions on the Anatolian heresies (p. 59 ff.), and edits or re-edits eleven texts from Ladik (Laodicea Combusta), Kadyñ Khan and elsewhere bearing signs of heretical—mostly Novatian or Encratite—beliefs. At the close of an article (p. 109 ff.) on the annexation of Pontus Polemoniacus and of Armenia Minor, F. Cumont refers to the epigraphical evidence for the Hellen-

³³³ *Rec. Arch.* xviii. (1923), 116 ff., xx. (1924), 93, *Syria*, iv. 224 ff.

³³⁴ *Roman York*, London (E. Benn), 1924, 30 ff.

³³⁵ F. Johansen, *Nordisk Fortidsminde*, 1923, 8. Basmach, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1923, ii. 129 ff.

³³⁶ *Recueil des Inscriptions Grecques Chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure*, Paris (Leroux),

1922. Reviewed *Class. Rev.* xxxviii. 10 f.

³³⁷ *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay*, Manchester (Univ. Press), 1923. Reviewed *J.H.S.* xlv. 135 f., *J.R.S.* xii. 291 ff., *Class. Rev.* xxxviii. 187 ff., *Riv. Fil.* li. 394 ff., *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxvi. 257 f., *Litteris*, i. 2 ff., *Deutsche Lit.* 1924, 1924 ff., *Göt. Gel. Anz.* clxxxvi. 163 ff.

isation of Armenia Minor and discusses a first-century inscription (*O.G.I.* 652) honouring τὸν πρῶτον τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πρῶτον Ἀρμενιάρχην. Under the title 'Scraps of Byzantine History' H. Grégoire deals (p. 151 ff., cf. 457) with some inscriptions which have a prosopographical interest, notably those relating to the Praetorian Prefect Fl. Eutolmius Tatiannus and a rescript of Elegethius, proconsul of Asia about 441 A.D. B. Haussoullier restores (p. 187 ff.) a fragment of a decree of 177-6 B.C. found at Susa, and R. Heberdey investigates (p. 195 ff.) in the light of epigraphical texts the gymnastic and other competitions held at Termessus in Pisidia. B. Pace, in an article (p. 297 ff.) published also in *Ausonia*, x, 169 ff., gives a transcript of and commentary on part of an inventory of the property of Artemis Pergaea, as well as a description of the site and its ruins and such particulars of the temple and cult as are known. A. M. Ramsay discusses (p. 323 ff.) some inscribed examples of Isaurian art of the third and fourth centuries of our era and offers (p. 338) a revised reading of a stone from Zizima (Sizima), six hours north of Konia. D. M. Robinson publishes (p. 341 ff.) two new and interesting metrical epitaphs from Sardis, of which one dates from the late fourth or early third century B.C. and the other, cast in curious dialogue form, probably from the first century B.C. Several inscriptions are dealt with in M. Rostovtzeff's brilliant account (p. 359 ff.) of the economic policy of the Pergamene kings, especially an unpublished honorary inscription from Sardis (p. 385 l.) and texts from Chios and Brussa (p. 390). A. Souter edits two new documents from Shahr, the site of the ancient Comana in Cappadocia, and adds an epigraphical bibliography of that town (p. 399 ff.). Finally, A. Wilhelm gives fresh evidence of his acumen and of his wonderful command of the epigraphical literature in his examination of inscriptions from Oenoanda, Cyzicus, Sardis and Iasus (p. 415 ff.).

We may now turn to a geographical survey of the remaining material, starting with the Greek cities of CARIA. An epitaph of Thyssanus in the Rhodian Peraea has been edited³⁵⁷ by N. D. Chaviras. H. J. Rose has commented³⁵⁸ on a Halicarnassian epigram published³⁵⁹ recently by U. von Wilamowitz, which also occupies the first place among the eighteen texts from the same site collected³⁶⁰ by A. Maiuri, including inventories (Nos. 3, 4) and a metrical epitaph of the fourth century B.C. (No. 7). The same scholar has also contributed³⁶¹ as the fruits of a journey in Caria undertaken in 1921, three documents from Ceramus, one of them an interesting honorary inscription (No. 19), three from Bargylia, three from Iasus, two from Idyma and three from Cedreä, of which the last (No. 33) contains a valuable record of civic activities and a sculptor's signature: to these we must add an epitaph from Acanthus; three documents of Tynnus, including an early decree relative to an impost levied on soldiers for the cult of Enyalios, and corrected versions of two already published texts (Nos. 34, 36). A. W. Persson has edited³⁶² twenty-four inscriptions, five of which were previously published, copied by J. Paris and R. Vallois in 1913: one of these, an honorary decree (No. 1), comes from the modern Bafi

³⁵⁷ *ApX.* Ep. 1922, 52.

³⁵⁸ *Class. Rev.* xxxvii, 162 f.

³⁵⁹ *AH.* *Mon.* xiv, 167 ff.

³⁶⁰ *Annuario*, iv, iv, 461 ff.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.* 473 ff.

³⁶² *B.C.H.* xvi, 394 ff., xlvii, 546 f.

and twenty-one are from Mylasa, including a decree of the *συγγένεια* 'Αγανιτέων (No. 2), three fragments of a cadastral survey (No. 7) and two of a frontier-delimitation (Nos. 9, 10). The two remaining texts come from the neighbouring city of Olymus, an honorary inscription and a peculiarly interesting record of a loan to the state (No. 24), which has been more adequately restored and explained ³⁶³ by A. Wilhelm. M. Holleaux re-examines ³⁶⁴ the Milesian decree in honour of Apame, first wife of Seleucus Nicator, and offers a restored text of its first fifteen lines. T. Wiegand's eighth provisional report on the excavations at Miletus and Didyma ³⁶⁵ contains a number of texts from the 'House of the Prophets' relative to the *προφῆται* of Didyma and a group of three poems referring to an abortive siege of the sanctuary during the Gothic invasion of A.D. 263. Of greater importance is H. Knackfuss' definitive publication ³⁶⁶ of the Southern Market of Miletus and the neighbouring buildings, in which a special chapter is devoted to the 120 inscriptions from this part of the site. All save a dozen of these are here published for the first time, consisting chiefly of inscriptions from architraves, etc. (Nos. 193-207), *τόπος*-inscriptions and *graffiti* (208-225), inscriptions on statue-bases, mostly of Emperors and other distinguished Romans (226-269), public documents engraved on stelae (270-274) and dedications (275-305). Amid this wealth of new material selection is difficult, but special attention may be called to the *lex sacra* of Artemis Kithone (202), the decree regulating relations with a King Antiochus (270) and three Imperial communications (272-4). A. Rehm examines ³⁶⁷ Haussoullier's attempt to date the Milesian *stephanephori* of the years following 184-3 B.C. and himself draws up a list of the eponymous magistrates for the period 183-2 to 156-5 B.C. G. De Sanctis has dealt afresh ³⁶⁸ with the famous letter (*S.I.G.*³ 618) found at Heracles ad Latnum and now preserved in the Louvre, dating it in 190 B.C. and assigning it to L. Cornelius Scipio the consul and his brother and *legatus* P. Scipio: this interpretation is ably supported ³⁶⁹ by M. Holleaux, who cites, discusses and restores a letter addressed by the two Scipios to Colophon Nova.³⁷⁰ Prienian inscriptions have afforded ³⁷¹ M. Schede the means of dating approximately on the ground of its letter-forms the signature of Archelaus on the well-known Roman relief portraying the apotheosis of Homer. The third volume of the definitive publication ³⁷² of the Austrian excavations at Ephesus deals with the Agora, the Harbour-gates, the Aqueducts and the Fountain-House near the Theatre. Of the inscriptions found in the Agora J. Keil here (p. 91 ff., cf. 25) publishes eighty-five, while R. Heberley deals (pp. 218 ff., 263 ff.) with six from the Harbour, including the building-inscription of the South Gate, and with two from the Aqueduct of C. Sextilius Pollio. Of the

³⁶³ *Wien. Ant.* 1924, 142 ff.

³⁶⁴ *Bes. Et. Gr.* xxvi. 1 ff.

³⁶⁵ *Abhandlungen d. Berliner Akademie*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1924, 17 ff., 22 ff.

³⁶⁶ *Milet.* I. 7: *Der Südmärkte u. die benachbarten Baulanlagen*, Berlin, 1924, p. 281 ff.

³⁶⁷ *Stzh. München*, 1923, 8. For two Milesian texts see A. Deismann, *Licht vom J.H.S.*—VOL. XLV.

Osten,⁴ 391 ff.

³⁶⁸ *Atti Torino*, lvii. 242 ff.

³⁶⁹ *Riv. Fil.* III. 29 ff.

³⁷⁰ *B.O.B.* xxxix. 47 f., C. Picard, *Ephèse et Clarus*, 145.

³⁷¹ *Röm. Mit.* xxv. 69 ff.

³⁷² *Forschungen in Ephesos*, III. Vienna (Hölzel), 1923.

texts from the Agora, very few of which were previously published, ten are in Latin and three bilingual. Eight are building-inscriptions, among them one (No. 3) dedicated to Ephesian Artemis, Divus Claudius and Agrippina Augusta, and two (Nos. 5, 8) to Artemis and Domitian; the following ten (Nos. 9-18), engraved on the South Gate, are for the most part records of the successful activities of various *ἀγορανόμοι*, one of whom records the exact price of fine and of coarse bread during his tenure of office; the remaining sixty-seven (Nos. 19-85) form an extraordinarily rich and interesting group of inscriptions from the bases of statues set up in honour of Roman proconsuls and other officials and of prominent citizens. The epigraphical indexes which close the volume (p. 277 ff.) greatly facilitate the utilisation of this abundant material. J. N. Bakhuizen van den Brink has devoted a full and careful study³⁷³ to the early Christian epigraphy of Ephesus, dealing both with its general characteristics and with the surviving texts on public works, churches, tombs, etc., and J. Keil, in an interesting article³⁷⁴ on the long rivalry between Ephesus and Smyrna, examines an Ephesian inscription, probably an edict of Justinian, comparing St. John and Polycarp in respect of holiness and dignity and justifying the refusal to allow to Smyrna the rank of metropolis enjoyed by Ephesus. The report³⁷⁵ by R. Demangel and A. Laumonier on the excavations at Notium contains a record of a gift 'for the repair of the sanctuary,' a decree of a gild of Asclepiastae, fifteen other inscriptions on stone, including an interesting metrical epitaph (No. 8), and a number of stamps on tiles or amphora-handles and of potters' signatures: one of the epitaphs there published is corrected³⁷⁶ by O. Kern. The same two French scholars have published,³⁷⁷ for the first time or in an improved form, five texts of Lebedus, three of Myonesus and sixty-seven (among which are two in Latin) from Teos, one of which (No. 2) is a decree granting to the Dionysiac *τεχνῖται* a number of privileges about 150 B.C. Seven inscriptions from Smyrna, one of which records the distinctions of L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus, proconsul for three successive years in the third century A.D., and a second the offices filled in the preceding century by L. Julius Nicomachus, have been edited³⁷⁸ by O. Walter, and an unimportant fragment appears³⁷⁹ in the account of the Roman theatre at Smyrna by O. Berg and O. Walter. A. Wilhelm has commented³⁸⁰ on two Smyrnaean texts already known (*I.G. Rom.* iv. 1414, *S.I.G.*³ 961) and has added one hitherto unpublished. J. Keil's article³⁸¹ on Artemis as Mother of the Gods and Queen of Heaven, based upon two little-known inscriptions of Smyrna, I know only indirectly. The famous ritual text from Philadelphia (*S.I.G.*³ 985) is among the purity-regulations discussed³⁸² by J. Zingerle. A. Wilhelm³⁸³ and T. Reinach³⁸⁴

³⁷³ *De Oud-christelijke Monumenten van Ephesus*, Hague, 1923. Cf. *Epacriod.* 1921, 50, 60.

³⁷⁴ *Strena Buliciana*, 307 ff.

³⁷⁵ *B.C.H.* xlvii. 373 ff.

³⁷⁶ *Phil. Week.* xlv. 928.

³⁷⁷ *B.C.H.* xlv. 307 ff. Cf. G. Glotz, *ibid.* xlvii. 546. O. Kern, *Phil. Week.* xlv. 190 f.

³⁷⁸ *Jahreshefte*, xxi-xxii. Beiblatt, 223 ff.

³⁷⁹ *Ab. Mitt.* xlvii. 18, cf. 23.

³⁸⁰ *Wien. Anz.* 1924, 115 ff.

³⁸¹ *Χάμερα*, 20 ff. Cf. *Phil. Week.* xlv. 1298.

³⁸² *Strena Buliciana*, 182 ff.

³⁸³ *Phil. Week.* xlv. 927 f.

³⁸⁴ *Rev. Et. Anc.* xxv. 118.

have commented on epitaphs from Sardis, C. R. Morey has devoted a detailed study³⁸⁵ to a Sardinian sarcophagus bearing a bilingual inscription, and W. Göz has explained³⁸⁶ the word *τιμώρεα*, which occurs in a document of Thyatira. G. Corradi has investigated³⁸⁷ the functions of the Pergamene *ἀμφοδάρχαι* as indicated in the astynomic law (*O.G.I.* 483), comparing them with those who bore the same title at Jerusalem and in Egypt.

The important decree, passed by a city of BITHYNIA in honour of the Macedonian Corragus, which was found at Brussa (Prusa) in 1921 and provisionally published³⁸⁸ by T. Homolle, has received attention from T. Saucieu-Saveanu, who in a full historical commentary³⁸⁹ argues that Corragus was appointed *στρατηγὸς τῶν καθ' Ἑλλάσποντον τόπων* by Eumenes II of Pergamum, and shows the value of the document for the study of agrarian and of fiscal policy in the Hellenistic period. An independent and masterly edition³⁹⁰ is due to M. Holleaux, who deals with the inscription from every point of view—epigraphical, philological and historical—assigning it conjecturally to Apollonia ad Rhyndacum and to the reign either of Eumenes II or of his brother Attalus II. An inscribed relief of the third century A.D. from Gebise, at the northern entry of the Gulf of Astacus, already imperfectly published (*I.G. Rom.* iii. 2), has been corrected and fully discussed³⁹¹ by J. Keil. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt has given³⁹² strong grounds for assigning five inscriptions, among them the Olbian *lex nummaria* (*S.I.G.*³ 218) and the Chalcedonian law regulating the tenure of a priesthood (*Ibid.* 1010), to the sanctuary of Zeus Ourios at Anadolu Kavak, near the northern exit of the Bosphorus. PHRYGIA makes a larger contribution. In the course of a valuable essay entitled 'Philadelphia and Montanism,'³⁹³ W. M. Calder makes constant use of epigraphical evidence as throwing light on Phrygian Montanism, re-edits (p. 28 ff.) the group of epitaphs, mostly from the Tembris valley, bearing the formula *Χρηστίανοι Χρηστίανοις* or some similar phrase indicating a profession of the Christian faith, and investigates (p. 42 ff.) the use of the title *Χρηστίανός* or *Χριστιανός* in epitaphs, adding an unpublished example (p. 45) from Ak Ören (Anzoulada) in the Lycæonian Steppe. Elsewhere³⁹⁴ Calder has given an admirable survey,³⁹⁵ based chiefly upon inscriptions, of the pagan social background in third-century Phrygia, the growth of the Christian community and the attempt of the persecuting Emperors, Decius, Probus and Diocletian, to stamp out Christianity and to substitute for it a revived paganism. In another article, entitled 'Notes on Anatolian Religion,' Calder publishes³⁹⁶ (a) a metrical epitaph of Iconium, giving us 'an interesting glimpse of the cult of Persens at Iconium in the late second or third century of our era, the more welcome that this is the first

³⁸⁵ *Sardis*, v. 1. *The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina*, 1924, p. 14.

³⁸⁶ *Klio*, xix. 110 f.

³⁸⁷ *Boll. fl. class.* xcix. 65 ff.

³⁸⁸ *C. R. Acad. Inscr.* 1921, 269 ff.

³⁸⁹ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxxvi. 197 ff.

³⁹⁰ *B.C.H.* xlviii. 1 ff.

³⁹¹ *Jahreshefte*, xxi.-xxii. Beiblatt, 261 ff. Cf. Rostowzew, *Börs.* Kolnati, 297.

³⁹² *Klio*, xviii. 300 ff.

³⁹³ *Bull. of the J. Rylands Library*, vii. 3.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.* viii. 2.

³⁹⁵ Cf. *Discovery*, 1923, 298 ff., H. Grégoire, *C.R. du V. Congrès Intern. des Sciences Historiques*, 1923, p. 80.

³⁹⁶ *Journal of the Manchester Eg. and Or. Soc.* xi. 19 ff.

reference to Perseus found in Lycaonian inscriptions; (b) an epitaph of Zengijek, thirty-nine miles N.E. of Iconium, containing the village name *Νοτοκοκωμήτης*, which probably refers to Nannakos, a king of Iconium mentioned in the Anatolian Deluge-legend,³⁹⁷ and (c) a sculptured tombstone from Kadyn Khan in the territory of Laodicea Combusta. The same scholar has also given us³⁹⁸ a group of twenty texts, wholly or partly metrical and all save one unpublished, copied between 1908 and 1913 at Laodicea Combusta, Kadyn Khan, Miscamus (Durgut), and other sites in the provinces of Phrygia, Galatia, Lycaonia and Isauria. He has further discussed³⁹⁹ the medial verbal *r*-termination in Phrygian, our knowledge of which is derived largely from inscriptions, of which many are bilingual. In a paper⁴⁰⁰ read to the Vienna Academy, J. Zingerle maintains that two texts hitherto regarded as Phrygian are really Greek and investigates the effect exercised by the language of the autochthonous population of Asia Minor upon the Greek speech of this area as reflected in its inscriptions. In a long study of the cult of Attis, J. Carcopino collects⁴⁰¹ the inscriptions relating to *ἀρχιγάλλοι*, of which the majority are Latin, but three are Greek and come from Hierapolis in Phrygia, Seghir in Pisidia and Savatra in Lycaonia. Of the Antiochene copy of Augustus' *Res gestae* I shall speak below in connexion with the Monumentum Ancyranum. Calder has given us⁴⁰² improved copies of two dedications by *δικασταί*, probably governors of Pisidia, found at Antioch and dating not later than the beginning of the fifth century A.D., and has used an epitaph of Laodicea Combusta to support the manuscript reading⁴⁰³ of a disputed passage in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (l. 444). A fourth-century Christian inscription of Iconium is republished⁴⁰⁴ with an improved text by W. M. Ramsay, who has also made an interesting contribution to Anatolian studies in an epigraphico-numismatic article,⁴⁰⁵ in which he discusses four epigrams, of which the first was unpublished, from Seidi Keni and Baljik Hissar (near Synnada), Afium Kara Hissar and Beuyeuk Kabadja, near Olu Borlu. An important article⁴⁰⁶ by H. A. Ormerod on the campaigns of Servilius Isauricus against the pirates ends with an epigraphical appendix containing eight inscriptions, mostly honorary, found at Ghyaras and Seidi-ahsir in Pisidia.

GALATIA also is well represented. To E. G. Hardy we owe a welcome and valuable edition of the Monumentum Ancyranum,⁴⁰⁷ 'perhaps the most interesting and important inscription that has ever come to light'; after an introductory chapter on the character and contents of this document, the text is printed, sentence by sentence, in Latin and Greek and English and elucidated by a full commentary, whose main object is 'to substantiate, amplify, or modify the statements of Augustus by references to the ancient authorities.' The

³⁹⁷ Cf. *Class. Rev.* xxxviii. 113.

³⁹⁸ *Rev. Phil.* xlv. 114 ff. For No. 2 cf. *Class. Rev.* xxxvii. 55 ff.

³⁹⁹ *Journal of the Manchester Eg. and Or. Soc.* x. 23 ff.

⁴⁰⁰ *Cl. Phil. Woch.* xlv. 996 f.

⁴⁰¹ *Mélange Rome*, xi. 255 f.

⁴⁰² *Rev. Phil.* xlv. 132 ff. For Pisidian

Antioch cf. A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*,⁴ 372 ff.

⁴⁰³ *Class. Rev.* xxxvii. 53 ff.

⁴⁰⁴ *Byz.-Neogr. Jahrb.* iv. 344 f.

⁴⁰⁵ *Strena Buliciana*, 659 ff.

⁴⁰⁶ *J.R.S.* xii. 52 ff., 288.

⁴⁰⁷ *The Monumentum Ancyranum*, Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1923.

text adopted is, almost without exception, that of Mommsen's edition. P. F. Regard has given a long and critical summary ⁴⁰⁸ of Meurwese's recent work on the Greek text of the Monumentum. Some fresh light will doubtless be thrown on this text by the considerable fragments of the Latin original discovered at Pisidian Antioch by W. M. Ramsay ⁴⁰⁹ and recently subjected to a close scrutiny ⁴¹⁰ by A. von Premerstein; the many new fragments found in the excavation of 1924 have not yet been published.⁴¹¹ Of the thirty-eight texts from Ancyra and the vicinity published ⁴¹² by R. d'Orbeliani, eleven give improved copies of inscriptions previously known and the remainder, of which Nos. 76 and 81 are the most interesting, consist mainly of epitaphs and honorary inscriptions. W. M. Ramsay has emphasised ⁴¹³ the difference between the epigraphy of central Anatolia and that of the Greek cities on the coast and has discussed a fourth-century Galatian text of Yüreme (*I.G. Rom.* iii. 221), which affords 'a good example of the way in which a reading should not be corrected': he has further, in his 'Studies in the Roman Province Galatia,' ⁴¹⁴ drawn largely upon epigraphical materials and has in particular examined the important record ⁴¹⁵ of a meeting of the Galatian *komot* held at Ancyra in September, A.D. 101, and given a new version (p. 181 ff.) of an inscription of 47 B.C. at Olu Borlu in Phrygia Galatica throwing some light on Greco-Asiatic law. W. M. Calder has brought an epitaph found E. of Angora into connexion with a passage in Ulpian and called attention to the knowledge they supply of arrangements regarding property which were in force among the Galatians.⁴¹⁶ Four inscriptions, of which three are votives, from Telmessus in LYCIA have been published ⁴¹⁷ by A. Mainri at the close of his account of a voyage of exploration in Caria.⁴¹⁸

IX. FURTHER ASIA

C. Virolleaud ⁴¹⁹ and others ⁴²⁰ have given surveys of recent archaeological work in SYRIA. To the articles by C. Clermont-Ganneau already referred to ⁴²¹ I must add one,⁴²² inadvertently omitted from my last Bibliography, on the dedication of the temple at Aingaddia and on various 'faux dieux' called into being by the misreading or misinterpretation of epigraphical texts. A Greek epitaph has come to light ⁴²³ at Antioch, and another is discussed ⁴²⁴ by L. Brossé in his account of the embankment of the Lake of Homs. R. Dussaud uses epigraphical as well as other evidence in his article ⁴²⁵ on the temple of Damascene Zeus, and a Greek inscription is published ⁴²⁶ in J. E. Hanauer's

⁴⁰⁸ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxvi. 147 ff.

⁴⁰⁹ *J.H.S.* vi. 103 ff. Cf. Sandys, *Latin Epigraphy*, 258 ff.

⁴¹⁰ *Phil. Week.* xlii. 135 f., 143 f., *Hermes*, lix. 93 ff.

⁴¹¹ Cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxviii. 438 f.

⁴¹² *J.H.S.* xlv. 24 ff.

⁴¹³ *Rev. Arch.* xviii. (1923), 227 ff.

⁴¹⁴ *J.H.S.* xii. 147 ff.

⁴¹⁵ Cf. *J.H.S.* xlv. 28 ff.

⁴¹⁶ *Class. Rev.* xxxvii. 8 ff.

⁴¹⁷ *Annuario*, iv./v. 485 ff.

⁴¹⁸ *For Megista of. B.C.H.* xlvii. 544.

⁴¹⁹ *Syria*, v. 44 ff., 113 ff.

⁴²⁰ *Les travaux archéol. en Syrie de 1920 à 1922*, Paris (Geuthner), 1923. Cf. *Rev. Arch.* xviii. (1923), 189.

⁴²¹ See footnotes 11, 16.

⁴²² *Rev. Hist. Rel.* lxxxiv. 108 ff.

⁴²³ *Syria*, iv. 260.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.* 234 ff.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.* lii. 232 f.

⁴²⁶ *Pal. Expl. Fund. Q.S.* 1924, 72.

notes on changes made in Damascus during the great war. G. Contenau's reports on the second Archaeological Mission to Sidon in 1920 record ⁴²⁷ several minor epigraphical discoveries. PALESTINE has proved more than usually productive. A. Alt has supplemented ⁴²⁸ his invaluable *Griechische Inschriften der Palaestina Tertia* by the addition of nineteen inscriptions, of which two (Nos. 3, 17) from Bir es Seba' were unpublished, and P. Thomsen has completed his corpus of Greek and Latin inscriptions of Jerusalem by a concluding section ⁴²⁹ containing inscriptions of gravestones and ossuaries and on small objects of metal, stone and clay, together with full indexes to the whole collection. The famous synagogue-inscription of Theodotus (cf. *J.H.S.* xliii. 37) has been further discussed by P. Thomsen, ⁴³⁰ G. Dalman, ⁴³¹ H. Lietzmann ⁴³² and A. Deissmann, ⁴³³ who, while regarding it as improbable that Theodotus' synagogue is the 'synagogue of the Libertines' mentioned in Acts vi. 9, claims this inscription as 'ein beträchtliches Originalstück des wirklichen Hintergrundes des urapostolischen jerusalemischen Christuskultes.' Other inscriptions of interest are (a) the metrical dedication to Ares Hoplophoros of a third-century altar at Tul Keram, the junction of the Lydda-Haifa and of the Nablus lines, ⁴³⁴ (b) a votive inscription from Kedesh Naphthali, ⁴³⁵ (c) a grave-inscription from Safi', S.E. of the Dead Sea, edited ⁴³⁶ by J. G. Duncan and further elucidated ⁴³⁷ by A. Alt, and (d) a Christian metrical dedication, in mosaic, of a church near Beth Jibrin (Eleutheropolis) ⁴³⁸; to the two golden *taeniae* from this site already published ⁴³⁹ by M. Siebourg, a third, now at Geneva, is added ⁴⁴⁰ by E. Michon and republished ⁴⁴¹ with an improved text by W. Deonna. A. Alt edits ⁴⁴² a brief epitaph from Joppa and draws up a useful bibliography of the inscribed graves already discovered there. A. G. Roos has examined ⁴⁴³ the inscriptions of Philippopolis and Palmyra relative to C. Julius Priscus and has combated the view ⁴⁴⁴ of E. Cuq that two Julii Prisci were praetorian prefects in rapid succession, one under Gordian and the other under Philippus. The remaining inscriptions of this region ⁴⁴⁵ do not call for individual notice.

Extraordinary interest has been aroused by the excavations carried on under French auspices by F. Cumont at Sâlihlyeh, the ancient Dura-Europus, on the Euphrates,—excavations which, though far from completed, have already thrown much light upon the artistic, religious, social, legal and linguistic development of an outlying Greek colony under the influence of the neighbouring

⁴²⁷ *Syria*, iv. 266, 281, v. 123; cf. v. 228 ff.

⁴²⁸ *Zeits. D. Pal., Vereins*, xvi. 51 ff.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.* xlv. 90 ff. Cf. *J.H.S.* xliii. 39.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.* 143 f.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.* xlv. 29 f.

⁴³² *Zeits. f. neutest. Wiss.* xx. 171 ff.

⁴³³ *Licht von Osten*,⁴ 378 ff. See the Bibliography, p. 378, note 2. I do not know L. Bruun, *Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift*, 1922.

⁴³⁴ F. M. Abel, *Rev. Bibl.* xxxii. 116 ff.

⁴³⁵ C. C. McCown, *Annals of Amer. School in Jerusalem*, ii-iii. 109 ff.; R. Mousterle, *Al Mochrig*, 1923, 623 f.

⁴³⁶ *Pal. Expl. Fund Q.S.* 1924, 35 ff., 95 f.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.* 101 f.

⁴³⁸ *Rev. Bibl.* xxxiii. 392 ff.

⁴³⁹ *Arch. Rel.* viii. 390 ff.

⁴⁴⁰ *Syria*, iii. 214 ff.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.* iv. 224 ff. Cf. *Mélanges de la Société auxiliaire du Musée de Genève*, 53 ff.

⁴⁴² *Palästina-Jahrb.* xviii.-xix. 100 ff. Cf. *Rev. Bibl.* xxxiii. 157.

⁴⁴³ *Mnemosyne*, li. 286 ff., 435.

⁴⁴⁴ *C. R. Acad. Inscr.* 1922, 184 ff.

⁴⁴⁵ *Anc. Egypt*, 1922, 97, *Rev. Bibl.* xxxii. 120 ff., xxxiii. 425, *Palästina-Jahrb.* xviii.-xix. 105, *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. deutschen Sprache*, 1922, 47, *Syria*, iv. 228 ff.

civilisations of Palmyra and Parthia. L. Jalabert long ago published⁴⁴⁶ one inscription, dated A.D. 175, from this site. F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld visited it and copied⁴⁴⁷ two Greek inscriptions bearing the date A.D. 61. Later J. H. Breasted paid a hasty but fruitful visit to the ruins,⁴⁴⁸ photographing the frescoes on the walls of a chapel showing worshippers with their names painted below and a sacrificial scene in which a Roman tribune (IVL TERENTIVS TRIB) is the central figure with a priest, duly named, beside him and, below, the legends *Τύχη Δούρας* and *Τύχη Παλμύρων*.⁴⁴⁹ F. Cumont has written brief reports,⁴⁵⁰ dated November 19th, 1922, and January 12th, 1923, dealing with his work on this site as well as a short account⁴⁵¹ in Italian of the frescoes. He has also published in detail⁴⁵² the scene of Terentius' sacrifice and some of the *graffiti* on the chapel wall and has, with E. Renard and L. Broessé, described⁴⁵³ the remarkable fortifications of Dura. His fuller account⁴⁵⁴ of the earlier excavation dealt with the names attached to the fresco-portraits and others painted beneath, and sought to show that the sanctuary was founded towards the close of the first century A.D. In his article⁴⁵⁵ on 'Le Temple aux Gradiens,' Cumont deals with thirty-seven inscriptions, each beginning with the date A.D. 61, engraved on the seats rising in tiers on two sides of the temple and indicating the names of their occupants, in all cases women, and with the dedication of the temple, which bears the date A.D. 31. Though most of the names are Greek (Seleucus is especially frequent), many are Semitic more or less Hellenised: on some of them M. Lidzbarski has valuable comments.⁴⁵⁶ A number of parchments have also been found, of which the most important, ably edited⁴⁵⁷ by B. Haussoullier, contains a law regulating succession in cases of intestacy. The rich results of the brief campaign of 1923 have been indicated in a provisional report,⁴⁵⁸ but the epigraphical texts have not yet been fully published: on the basis of three of them, which refer to two marriages between brother and sister and one between uncle and niece, Cumont discusses⁴⁵⁹ the practice at Dura of this 'oriental, and especially Parthian, custom, sanctioned by the example of the kings.'

A bitumen seal-impression with a Greek legend,⁴⁶⁰ acquired at Bagdad, has been presented to the Ashmolean Museum.

⁴⁴⁶ *C. R. Acad. Inscr.* 1907, 598 ff., *Syria*, iv, 220 ff.

⁴⁴⁷ *Arch. Reise im Euphrat-u. Tigris-Gebiet*, ii, Berlin (Reimer), 1920, p. 386 ff.

⁴⁴⁸ *Syria*, iii, 177 ff., esp. 197 ff. J. H. Breasted, *Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting*, Chicago, 1923, p. 101.

⁴⁴⁹ *Cl. Rev. Arch.* xviii, (1923), 410.

⁴⁵⁰ *C. R. Acad. Inscr.* 1922, 425 ff., 1923, 12 ff.

⁴⁵¹ *Rendiconti d. Lincei*, xxxii, 212 ff.

⁴⁵² *Mon. Piot*, xxvi, 1 ff.

⁴⁵³ *Syria*, v, 24 ff.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.* iv, 47 ff.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 203 ff.; cf. v, 166 ff., *Rev. Arch.* xix, (1924), 414.

⁴⁵⁶ *Göt. Nachr.* 1923, 101 ff. Cf. *Rev. Bibl.* xxxiii, 634, *C. R. Acad. Inscr.* 1924, 54 note 1.

⁴⁵⁷ *Bull. Assoc. G. Rudé*, 1924, 50 ff., *C. R. Acad. Inscr.* 1924, 21., *Rev. Hist. de Droit*, ii, (1923), 515 ff.

⁴⁵⁸ *C. R. Acad. Inscr.* 1924, 17 ff.

⁴⁵⁹ *C. R. Acad. Inscr.* 1924, 53 ff.

⁴⁶⁰ *J.H.S.* xliii, 55 f.

X. AFRICA.

Of the Greek inscriptions found in Egypt I need not speak here, for I have published elsewhere⁴⁶¹ a Bibliography dealing with them. S. Ferri has reported⁴⁶² on his investigation of the sanctuary at Budrase, three kilometres west of Cyrene, where, in addition to two previously known inscriptions (*C.I.G.* 5149, 5183), some *graffiti* have been found, and has given a survey⁴⁶³ of three years' work at Cyrene (1919-22), containing references to some of the most important epigraphical discoveries. C. Bruston has explained⁴⁶⁴ an amulet from Carthage by reference to Hebrew, and A. Blanchet has contributed⁴⁶⁵ a note on this method of interpreting gnostic or magical inscriptions. F. Icard has published⁴⁶⁶ fourteen Rhodian amphora-stamps found at Carthage. The remaining inscriptions of Sousse,⁴⁶⁷ Ksour-es-Saf,⁴⁶⁸ Carthage,⁴⁶⁹ Djemila,⁴⁷⁰ Lambaesis,⁴⁷¹ Cherchel⁴⁷² and Volubilis⁴⁷³ are for the most part very brief or fragmentary and do not call for detailed notice.

MARCUS N. TOD.

⁴⁶¹ *J.R.A.* xi., 327 ff.

⁴⁶² *Notiziario Archeologico*, iii. 95 ff.;
cf. *Rev. Arch.* xx. (1924), 404.

⁴⁶³ *Aegyptus*, iv. 163 ff., *Bis. Fil.* ii. 137 f.

⁴⁶⁴ *Rev. Arch.* xvii. (1923), 111 ff.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.* xviii. (1923), 338 f.

⁴⁶⁶ *Bull. Archéol.* 1923, 37 ff.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 1922, lxvii.

⁴⁶⁸ *Rev. Arch.* xix. (1924), 419 f.

⁴⁶⁹ *Bull. Archéol.* 1920, clxxviii ff., 1921,
xxxix, ccix; 90, 1923, cxv, ccviii.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 1920, 233.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.* 1921, ccxlvii.

⁴⁷² *Ibid.* lxxxiv, 1923, cxxii.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.* 1921, ccxvi.

A NOTE ON *J.H.S.*, XLV. p. 78.

THE arguments in favour of the Babylonian origin of the zodiacal signs are even stronger than is stated by Dr. Fotheringham. He says: 'In our zodiac the place of the Ear of Corn is taken by the Virgin holding the ear of corn. As the Babylonians connected this ear of corn with the goddess Ishtar, the process from the ear to the virgin holding the ear is not very great.' But (*kakkab*) *Eššim* (a word which means 'ear of corn' according to Landsberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer*, 9-10) is actually represented on a Babylonian tablet as a virgin holding the ear (see Thureau-Dangin in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xvi. p. 135). There was not therefore any change in the conception.

S. SMITH.

A NEO-ATTIC KRATER IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

[PLATES VI.-IX.]

THE Metropolitan Museum has recently acquired a marble Neo-Attic krater of exceptional beauty in an excellent state of preservation.¹ It has been briefly described in the Metropolitan Museum Bulletin for January 1924; but since its importance requires a fuller publication and its study brings up interesting stylistic considerations, I am glad of this opportunity for a fuller discussion.

The vase is of the bell-krater shape with overhanging lip and fluted bottom and two horizontal handles emerging from Satyr heads—evidently a favourite form with Neo-Attic sculptors of the first century, for we have a number of examples of it.² The foot was worked in a separate piece and is missing; at the bottom of the vase is a marble tenon with a smoothed surface round it, indicating the width of the foot at the point of attachment. We have added a plaster foot,³ and restored the rim, which was much chipped.

The chief interest in the vase centres, of course, in the relief decoration on the main part of the body—on each side three dancing women, and above the handles a conventionalised fig tree and a pilaster crowned by a panel with three Nymphs. Two of the dancers are characterised as Maenads by the thyrsos which one of them carries and by their attitudes of Bacchic frenzy; the other two are rather too demure for Maenads and are perhaps better explained as Nymphs or mortals; but it does not matter much what names we give them, for Neo-Attic sculptors had notoriously little interest in the subject-matter of their scenes, concentrating their attention on designing lovely single figures in harmonious compositions. In the Sosibios vase in Paris, for instance, we have Maenads and a Satyr combined with a warrior, Artemis and Hermès, in no apparent connexion except as effective space-fillers. On our vase there is at least unity of action; all the figures are dancing or making music for the dance. On one side one is blowing the double flutes with two dainty maidens

¹ Height without foot or tenon 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (51.6 cm.); height with restored foot 31 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (80.6 cm.); diameter at top after restoration of lip 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (73 cm.); height of tenon $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (2.2 cm.).

² Cf., besides Reinach, *Repertoire des Reliefs*, passim; *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscri.*, 1908, p. 537 (examples found in the sea near Melidra), and *Ausonia*, 1907, pp. 270, 274 (the Ulgi Vase). Examples particularly close to ours are in the Museum

of the Capitol and in the Vatican (P. Gorman, *L'Art décoratif de Rome*, Pls. LXIV., XCI, and CXXV.).

³ The restoration is based on the general design evolved for the feet of such kraters (cf. especially P. Gorman, *L'Art décoratif de Rome*, Pl. LXIV.), though there are, it seems, no certainly antique feet in good preservation belonging to extant marble vases of this particular type.

dancing before her (Pl. VI.); on the other, one is playing the castanets and dancing at the same time with lively steps, while the two Maenada holding thyrsos and wreath are facing her (Pl. VII.). Not only is the composition singularly happy, but each figure is beautifully designed and executed. Indeed the feeling of serenity and of graceful animation in some of the dancers is comparable only with Greek works of the best period; and the handling of the relief technique with the suggestion of distance in the further planes could not be more masterly.¹ Moreover, the extraordinarily fresh preservation makes us able to appreciate fully this beauty. And this is important; for it shows us that Neo-Attic sculptors, like the sculptors of all ages, differed greatly in the quality of their work, and that side by side with the rather hard, stereotyped products which they turned out in such quantities they could occasionally produce very fine things. Beauty of workmanship is not, therefore, necessarily a criterion by which to judge whether a relief is Neo-Attic or fifth or fourth century Greek. The distinction rests purely on style. To analyse this style and thereby try to differentiate between works of the Greek and of the Roman period—in a more satisfactory way perhaps than has been done heretofore—is one of the chief objects of this paper.

To understand the horizon of the Neo-Attic sculptor we must realise first of all that he belonged to an age when artists had good taste rather than creative ability; when instead of originating their own designs they freely borrowed and very skilfully adapted what had been produced before them. Nor did they attempt to disguise this lack of originality. The same figures occur over and over again in different combinations with but slight variations. In fact, it is just this occurrence of a fairly limited number of familiar types—each figure generally placed a certain distance from the next so as to give full value to the design of each²—which constitutes the chief characteristic of Neo-Attic reliefs. Hauser, in his *Neuattische Reliefs*, published in 1889, was able to list fifty such types of figures, and to-day the list could of course be enlarged. Thus the Maenad with thyrsos (Pl. VII.) is Hauser's No. 29, and occurs on the rhyton signed by Pontios in the Capitoline Museum,³ on a four-sided base in the Vatican,⁴ and on a base in Madrid.⁵ The Maenad with

¹ For an analysis of this relief technique cf. Metropolitan Museum *Bulletin*, January, 1924, p. 12. It should be noted that the surface of the vase was never properly smoothed throughout, so that the grooves and ridges produced by the depressed contour lines are rather conspicuous. A similar roughness is observable in some of the figures, especially on the necks and faces; and in the flutist the artist changed the position of his pipes while working on the figure and had not removed the traces of his earlier design. Evidently the last finishing process was never applied. Perhaps the little supports which connect the handles with the body of the vase were likewise originally intended to be removed;

though they have been left on other examples also where the surface appears to be smoother (cf. the vase in the Capitoline Museum, P. Gosman, *L'Art décoratif de Rome*, ii. Pl. LXIV.).

² I have confined myself here to reliefs of this type, that is, to Hauser's Class L, to which our krater belongs; and have not included the more crowded compositions in the style of the Borghese vase (Hauser's Class II.).

³ *Bulletin Communal*, iii. Pls. XII and XIII.

⁴ Pistolesi, *Il Vaticano*, iv. Pl. XXXIX.

⁵ Arndt-Ameling-Bruckmann, *Einzelanf. nahmen*, Nos. 1683-1686.

wreath (Pl. VII.) is Hauser's No. 31, and appears on the same four-sided base in the Vatican,⁹ on a round altar in Lansdowne House, London,¹⁰ and on a krater in the Museo Torlonia.¹¹ The flute-player (Pl. VI.) is Hauser's No. 38, and is found again on a three-sided base in the Lateran,¹² on a puteal in Marbury Hall,¹³ on an amphora in Naples,¹⁴ and on the fragment of a krater in the Musée Fol in Geneva.¹⁵ The dancer with both hands lowered to sides (Pl. VI.) is a slight variation of Hauser's No. 33. It is especially like one of the dancers on a relief found in the Dionysos theatre in Athens.¹⁶ The three Nymphs on the panel¹⁷ (Pl. VIII.) are Hauser's No. 46 and occur on a round altar in Verona,¹⁸ on a round base in the Villa Albani,¹⁹ and on a



FIG. 1.—RELIEF OF PAN AND NYMPHS, FROM ELEUSIS.

relief in the Swainson Cowper collection at Yew Field Castle, Outgate, Ambleside.²⁰ The remaining figures are not included in Hauser's list; but the castanet player (Pl. VII.) has a parallel on the three-sided base in the Lateran.²¹

⁹ Pistolesi, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 450, No. 58.

¹¹ Zoega, *Basirelievi antichi*, II. Pl. LXXXIV.

¹² Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler der griechischen und römischen Skulptur*, Pl. 599.

¹³ Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler der antiken Kunst*, II. Pl. XXVII, 295.

¹⁴ Museo Borbonico, VII. Pl. IX.

¹⁵ Catalogue, I. No. 1357.

¹⁶ Cf. Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, Pl. 600, 2.

¹⁷ The device of mounting a tablet on a pilaster occurs also on the Ikaros relief in the British Museum (Loewy, *Neuattische Kunst*, Fig. 24), where we see erected a panel with a Victory driving a chariot;

'doubtless a votive tablet to commemorate a chariot victory' (A. H. Smith, *B.M. Sculpture*, No. 2190, p. 242); and on a fragment in the National Museum in Rome, perhaps part of a representation of a sanctuary (cf. Schmidt, *Archaische Kunst*, Pl. XIX. 3). It would be futile to seek for our tablet a special significance; for it certainly serves well the purpose for which it was obviously intended, that of an effective space-filler.

¹⁸ Reinach, *Répertoire des Reliefs*, III. p. 436, 1.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, III. p. 135.

²⁰ Cf. *B.S.A.*, 1896, Pl. XIV. p. 171. For archaic versions of this theme cf. Schmidt, *Archaische Kunst*, Pls. XII ff.

²¹ Cf. Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, Pl. 599, A-B.

(Pl. IX.), and the dancer immediately in front of the flute-player (Pl. VI.) on a relief in the National Museum in Rome;²² so that every figure on our krater is, so to speak, a regulation type taken from what must have been a kind of common repertory. It is only the genius of our artist for adaptation and his consummate execution that have made so lovely a thing out of a stereotyped medley.

The important question now arises,—What are the original models of these figures? Fortunately we have a few—though only a few—of the actual original Greek compositions from which the Neo-Attic artist took his designs; so that we can see both what kind of monuments he used and study the difference between his work and that of his predecessor.

The most important of these prototypes are: the votive reliefs of Pan and Nymphs,²³ from which the panel design on our krater is clearly copied (compare especially the charming one from Eleusis in the National Museum in Athens, Fig. 1); the relief of dancing warriors from the Akropolis,²⁴ from which the dancing warrior on the Sosibios vase is derived;²⁵ the panels of Victories sacrificing a bull²⁶ (Fig. 2) and of Victory loosing her sandal²⁷ (Fig. 4a), of the Nike Balustrade, which served as models for the Neo-Attic reliefs in the Uffizi (Fig. 3) and Munich²⁸ (Fig. 4b). In other words, later fifth and fourth century reliefs apparently were a favourite source from which the Neo-Attic artist drew. And this is borne out also by a study of his style. With the exception, of course, of the archaizing figures²⁹ (which are not here discussed, for none occur on our krater), the great majority of Neo-Attic reliefs are derived neither from the sturdy early fifth-century types nor from the turbulent Hellenistic compositions, but from the softer, more graceful creations of the intervening period. And particularly popular was the late fifth-century style of transparent, clinging drapery of which the Nike loosing her sandal is such a beautiful example. The many lovely Neo-Attic dancers,³⁰ and Horae,³¹ and Maenads,³² and musicians³³ are all attempts to imitate this highly decorative rendering.

Only second to the beauty of the human body the Greeks felt the beauty of drapery—of large and small folds, of the play of lights and shadows, and of heavy and thin texture. They devised garments which lent themselves particularly well to plastic treatment and set themselves to their rendering

²² Cf. *Jahresb.*, vi. 1903, p. 90, Fig. 43.

²³ Cf. the list given by Bloch in Roscher, *Nymphen*, p. 557 ff.; Schmidt, *Archaische Kunst*, p. 30 ff.; also Stala, *Marbres et Bronzes du Musée National*, Nos. 1445-1449.

²⁴ Casson, *Catalogue of the Akropolis Museum*, II. No. 1338.

²⁵ Cf. Loewy, *Neuattische Kunst*, Fig. 23; compare also the relief in the Vatican, Loewy, *op. cit.*, Fig. 5.

²⁶ Cf. Casson, *op. cit.*, No. 11.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 12.

²⁸ The three-sided base from the Street of Tripoli in the National Museum in Athens, classed by Hauser, (*Neuattische*

Reliefs, p. 68, No. 98) and Collignon (*Histoire de la Sculpture*, II., p. 646) as Neo-Attic and derived from the Parthenon frieze, has since rightly been recognised as a fourth-century original (cf. Waldmann, *Griechische Originale*, No. 161, Kastriotis, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the National Museum*, No. 1463).

²⁹ For a recent study of these cf. Schmidt, *Archaische Kunst* (1922).

³⁰ Cf. e.g. Loewy, *op. cit.*, Figs. 15, 17.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Fig. 16.

³² *Ibid.*, Figs. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 22, 23.

³³ *Ibid.*, Fig. 7.

with great devotion and enjoyment. At first, in the archaic period, their interpretation was merely a convention for decorative effect; as in the Athenian Korae and the Siphnian frieze. This is followed during the first half of the



FIG. 2.—FROM THE BALUSTRADE OF ATHENE NIKE, ATHENS.

fifth century by a more naturalistic rendering, with, however, a strong stylizing tendency remaining; as in the Boston and Ludovisi reliefs, the Berlin goddess, and the Olympia pediments. Then comes the grand, architectural treatment



FIG. 3.—RELIEF IN THE UFFIZI.

of the Parthenon metopes and the Roman Niobid. And this in its turn develops into the light and airy style of the Nike Balustrade, the Nike of Paconios and the Nereids. In these later periods, though the general effect is more naturalistic, in reality the rendering is no more a direct imitation of nature than

before, but merely the artist's interpretation along different lines. In both cases it is not realism that is aimed at but artistic effect. Particularly is this true in the period we are now considering. In the Nike loosing her sandal (Fig. 4a), for instance, the artist has made the body show through not only the thin chiton but the two layers of chiton and heavy himation almost as if it were nude; and the sharp cutting of the oblique folds of the mantle with its resultant deep shadows is highly decorative, but not strictly realistic; while the fine contrasts between the plain surfaces and bunched folds are clearly consciously sought. That the general appearance is so lifelike is due to the artist's genius in interpretation rather than to direct imitation.

Naturally when it comes to imitating this individual conception the contrast between the original and copy is great; since it is difficult for a copyist to catch the spirit and the subtleties of such individual creations. We need only compare carefully the Balustrade Nikae (Figs. 2 and 4a) with their Neo-Attic successors in Florence (Fig. 3) and Munich (Fig. 4b) to realise the vast difference between them. How stilted and dull the oblique lines of the mantle seem on the stooping figure in Munich compared to those on the fifth-century model; how monotonously regular are the zigzag lines along the edge of the mantle compared to the varied treatment on the earlier figure. How much of the effect of the original is lost in making the drapery less transparent. And how the figure with the bull has lost in directness by being made to lean back further. She is no longer holding the bull in but appears to be dancing by his side. This attitudinising tendency and this lack of sensitiveness in the treatment of the drapery are observable in practically all Neo-Attic reliefs and constitute the chief difference between the work of the two periods. Even the figures on our krater—which are among the most beautiful of Neo-Attic works—have the same shortcomings. Lovely and charming though they be, the true zest for life so noticeable in their predecessors has somehow passed from them. Compared with similar figures on red-figured vases of the late fifth century in Athens and Paris they show all the difference between real ecstasy and its reflection. This is especially noticeable in the Maenads. When placed side by side with fifth-century Greek Maenads³⁴ their frenzy seems mere make-believe; they appear as if suddenly arrested, posing in attitudes of exaltation, not really 'θεοῦ πρῶσιον ἐμπαρεῖς.' And the draperies show equally important differences. How artificial, for instance, are the thin, ridge-like folds in the reliefs of the Horae, reconstructed by Hanser from familiar Neo-Attic types (Fig. 5), or in the figures on the Madrid base,³⁵ compared with their obvious prototypes on the Balustrade Nike (Fig. 4a) or on the Gjölbaschi dancers.³⁶ In the earlier Greek reliefs, in spite of conscious arrangement for decorative effect, the result is always simple and natural. The Roman copyist in trying to obtain this simplicity becomes affected. How convincing, for instance, are

³⁴ Cf. e.g. Hoppin, *Handbook*, II, pp. 41, 55, 77; *Dor.-Sagl.*, Figs. 707, 4772.

³⁵ Arnolt-Ameling-Brockmann, *Kunst-aufnahmen*, Pls. 1683-1686; and Loewy,

op. cit., Figs. 9-12.

³⁶ Beunclorf, *Das Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa*, Pl. XX.

the folds of the Gjölbaschi dancer who is daintily holding up the edge of her garment compared to those on the similar figure on the *Horæ* relief, with its multitude of converging lines (Fig. 5, centre). Where the Greek figures



FIG. 4.—(a) FROM THE BALUSTRADE OF ATHENA NIKE, ATHENS;
(b) NEO-ATTIC COPY IN MUNICH.



FIG. 5.—RELIEF OF THE HORÆ.

impress us with their lifelike rendering and stir in us that peculiar excitement that only life can, their Roman descendants appear like studies of artificially arranged drapery.

Moreover, the actual composition of the folds is never so clear in the later

renderings. If we compare the flying draperies of our Maenads (Pl. VII.) or of the two Nikæ in Florence (Fig. 3), effectively arranged against the background, with similar decorative devices on the Phigaleian frieze or the Gjölbaschi relief, how much clearer appears the construction in the latter; how easily we can follow each fold as it bulges and twists, and how different by contrast the fan-like treatment in the later copies.

Fresh from this analysis of the differences between earlier Greek and Neo-Attic work, it may be interesting to examine the three-sided base found in the Roman Forum and now in the Lateran Museum (Pl. IX.), published in 1906 by Hauser as a fourth-century Greek original³⁷ and accepted as such by most archaeologists.³⁸ We find on it many of the familiar Neo-Attic types—our flutist and castanet player, the lyre player,³⁹ the dancer from the Dionysos theatre relief,⁴⁰ the dancer behind the lyrist,⁴¹ and the Satyr.⁴² If Hauser is right in his claim that this is a fourth-century Greek work, it becomes, of course, of prime importance as the original source from which many of the Neo-Attic figures are directly taken. But has it not all the ear-marks of Neo-Attic work—the distribution of the figures about equidistant from one another in a harmonious but unrelated composition, the self-consciousness of the poses, the stilted treatment of the drapery? We need only compare the dancers (especially AB 1 and BC 1 and 2) with those on the Gjölbaschi reliefs to realise how the simple, unaffected attitudes of former times have been translated into still lovely but essentially artificial creations. And the draperies with their transparent effects, their oblique ridges and their decorative flying portions go back directly to the late fifth-century works we have been studying, but are executed in typical Neo-Attic fashion. We may note especially the familiar fan-like effect of the edge of the lyre player's mantle held by the dancer behind her, the monotonous vertical folds of the front part of her mantle—very like those of the copy of the Balustrade Nike and very different from those of the Balustrade Nike herself—and the generally artificial treatment in AB 1, BC 1 and 2 and CA 3, so like that of the Horæ (Fig. 5). It is true that the execution of these figures is excellent, much better than on the average Neo-Attic reliefs; but no better than on our krafer, obviously a Roman work on account of its shape, and one that has taught us to look for style rather than quality of workmanship as a safe criterion for dating.

In view of these obvious parallels Hauser's arguments for a fourth-century date seem unconvincing. Besides quality of workmanship he offers little

³⁷ Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, Pl. 599, text.

³⁸ 'So ziemlich alle Archäologen, welche die Basis im Lateran selbst gesehen haben, sind sich einig darüber, dass eine solche Marmorarbeit aus keiner jüngeren Periode stammt als aus dem vierten Jahrhundert' (Hauser, p. 8); Loewy, *Neuattische Kunst* (1922), p. 6: 'Noch bewahrt der Lateran, verstümmelt und unvollständig, die aus Athen

verschleppte Dreifussbasis etwa der gleichen Zeit (Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts)'; Halbig, *Führer* (1912), II, p. 29 f.: 'Der Künstler der Basis wird ein Zeitgenosse Timotheos und Leochares gewesen sein...'

³⁹ No. 37 of Hauser's list of types.

⁴⁰ Hauser's No. 39.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, No. 44.

⁴² Cf. Hauser, text to Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, Pl. 599, p. 3, Fig. 2.

specific evidence. He compares the lyre player on the Lateran base with the practically identical figure from Mysia in Constantinople,⁴³ and finds that the figure on his base shows a less meticulous treatment than the other and was therefore done by a superior and earlier artist; he points out that the mantle folds beneath the lyre 'do not really converge to the left shoulder, from which they are supposed to be hanging,' and that the Mysian artist tried to minimise this fault by curving his line further toward the shoulder—just the sort of thing a fussy copyist would do. But the mantle really hangs from the left arm, not the left shoulder, so that the mistake is not so great as Hauser thought. Mistake, however, there is in both reliefs; and such structural misunderstandings are just what we do not expect to find in Greek reliefs of a good period. Hauser also finds that the 'taenia'⁴⁴ is made to hang straight on the Lateran kitharist and in a curving line in the Mysian figure, and thinks this again is the sign of a meticulous copyist. But it is surely not by such trifles that we can adjudge the period of these reliefs. Examined in relation to Neo-Attic works on the one hand and their Greek prototypes on the other, the Lateran figures quite naturally take their place among the best of Neo-Attic products, comparable in charm and good workmanship with our new krater.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER.

⁴³ Mendel, *Constantinople Catalogue*, II, No. 576.

⁴⁴ Probably not a taenia but part of the

retaining band of the lyre into which the left hand is inserted (cf. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1923, 3, p. 279).

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1924-25

This article attempts to summarise the results (1) of those excavations carried out in Greek lands in 1924 of which no report was available in time for my account printed in the last volume of the *Journal*,¹ and (2) of the excavations of 1925 of which reports had come to hand before the end of September.² This system will be followed in the accounts which I hope to contribute annually henceforward.

AMERICAN SCHOOL

The varied activities of the American School included excavations at the sites of Corinth, the Argive Heraeum, and Eutresis in Boeotia. At Nemea and Phlius, the opening campaigns at which sites were described in my report of a year ago, no further work was done in the summer of 1925. At Corinth, thanks to a generous subsidy by, and the personal enterprise of, Professor T. L. Shear, substantial progress was made with the Herculean task of clearing the theatre, where, on the south side of the orchestra, the depth of the deposit of earth proved to be 12 metres; before the season closed, over 5000 tons of debris had been removed to a dump a quarter of a mile away. In the west of the *caeca* the seats proved to be all destroyed, but a remarkable discovery was made, in the form of a wall, originally ca. 2.80 metres high, surrounding the orchestra. This where cleared was preserved to a height of 1.70 m., and was painted in fresco with scenes of life-sized figures engaged in combat with lions. One combatant, in action with a lion which charges him from the left, is clad in a long purple under-garment, with a white over-garment fastened at the knee; another wears a short garment which hangs down in front, leaving the legs bare to the hips, and white sandals; other figures, variously clad, and also fighting lions, appear in other scenes. The field of the frieze is blue, with a lower band of greenish-yellow on which the figures are standing; then comes a narrow dark blue band, serving as frame, with a pink outer edge, and finally a broad red band on the outside. This painted wall lies on the circumference of a circle with a diameter of 36.80 m., of which the centre is the central point of the orchestra of the Greek theatre. It appears that on the re-settlement of the city after 46 B.C. an arena was constructed with as little alteration of plan as possible, the lower rows of seats being removed to enable the spectators to be protected with this high wall. At a later date (*temp.* Herodes Atticus?)

¹ *J.H.S.* xliv, (1924), pp. 254 ff.

² My warmest thanks are here tendered to all those who have generously supplied me with reports of their unpublished excavations. The invaluable summary pub-

lished by the French School in *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, xlviii., was not available in time for my purpose, but a few references to it have been inserted at the last moment.

a Roman theatre built on a new plan involved the destruction of the upper part of the painted wall. The full clearance of this striking feature will be the main task of the next campaign.

Preliminary trials, with a view to locating the temple of Athena Chalinitis mentioned by Pausanias, were made in a field adjoining the Sicyonian road S.-E. of the theatre. Numerous heavy foundation-blocks and interesting small objects came to light; the latter include a deposit of 160 small votive cups, a small archaic ivory support in the shape of a standing lion, and terra-cotta figurines and reliefs of the fifth century and earlier. The third region explored by Professor Shear was a suburban villa lying about a mile west of the theatre. This also yielded important results, as the five rooms so far cleared each had an elaborate and well-preserved mosaic pavement of high artistic excellence. In the *atrium* is represented a herd playing a pipe, with three cattle; in the *triclinium*, a panel shows Europa on the bull; in a small room opening off the *atrium* is Dionysos with his thyrsos, and in a room west of the *triclinium* is the finest pavement of all; this has a small central medallion showing the head of Dionysos crowned with fruit and ivy-leaves, enclosed in thirteen concentric circles which are decorated with recurrent triangles, and set in a square panel with intricate geometric border, in each corner of which is a *cantharos*, alternately yellow and grey, to represent gold and silver. This magnificent villa is shown, by the types of coins and lamps found in it, to have existed in the middle of the first century of our era.²

At the Argive Heraeum, following a long-cherished scheme of the late Dr. J. C. Hoppin, and made practicable by a generous bequest from the same source, search was made with a view to investigating the earliest history of the site. Under the skilled direction of Dr. C. W. Blegen a large group of rock-cut chamber-tombs of Late Helladic date, and practically all unrobbed, came to light not far from the site of the temple. Pending a fuller report, I can only signal here the discovery, in addition to large quantities of vases most of which can be reconstructed, of two admirable bronze daggers, with gold rivets for the (missing) handles, inlaid in silver; one with a group of dolphins, and the other with a scene of birds. Several of these tombs are being left for excavation in 1926.

At Eutresis in Boeotia, between Plataea and Thespieae, a joint expedition of the Fogg Museum of Harvard University and the American School at Athens, led by Miss Hetty Goldman, carried out excavations in the autumn of 1924 and from May to July, 1925.³ The city, first mentioned in the Homeric Catalogue, and known in classical times for its oracle of Apollo, proved to have been occupied from Early Helladic times down to the Byzantine period. Only isolated traces of the classical period came to light, the most interesting being a deposit of broken terra-cottas and poor bronze ornaments; the types of the former suggest the shrine of a goddess.

The real importance of the excavation lies in the discovery, usually at a

² I am indebted to Professor T. L. Shear for a full report of his excavations, and to Dr. B. H. Hill, Director of the American

School, for oral information.

³ From a report kindly furnished by Miss Goldman.

depth of slightly over two metres, of an excellent series of Middle Helladic houses, which establish the rectangular house with small ante-chamber and long main room, and hearth sometimes central but more often in or near a corner, as the prevalent type. Out of seven houses whose ground-plan could be reconstructed with certainty, only one had an apsidal end, and that had subsequently been changed to a straight wall when a later building encroached upon it. Some had fore-courts, either paved or of beaten earth, with large pithoi standing in them, probably for the storage of water. In one house which had been destroyed by fire, two deep holes in the floor, along the axis of the main room—one of them lined with clay—contained the charred remains of wood, and had evidently served for wooden roof-supports. In addition to the houses, three shops or storehouses were uncovered, dating from the same period; they were crowded with bins and jars of slightly-baked clay, some of which were filled with charred wheat.

Two pits dug down to virgin soil showed that some of the pottery of the lowest Early Helladic stratum is not distinguishable from certain types characteristic of the second Neolithic period. The indications are that the E.H. settlement, of which two houses were uncovered, similar in general plan to those found at Zygyouries, was larger than that of the M.H. period; and the more massive and careful wall-construction, the larger dimensions of the houses, the presence of some bronze and marble objects entirely lacking in M.H. times, point to greater prosperity and wider contacts with the outside world. Large quantities of pottery, both E.H. and M.H., were found, mostly in very fragmentary condition; among the more important specimens may be mentioned some Cycladic vases, and a very large matt-painted pithos of unusual shape and design. The principal finds are now exhibited in the Thebes Museum.

The interments of the prehistoric period were all M.H. 'crouch-burials' and located within the limits of the settlement. Small children were most frequently buried in cists or pithoi; adults were usually placed in the ground, and frequently surrounded with a more or less complete ring of stones. Only one adult pithos-burial was found. While the bodies of children were usually placed between walls, and in narrow alleys, or even under house-floors, adult burials were usually sunk to some depth, from above. There was no trace of adult burials placed under the floors, or in conscious relation to the walls of contemporary buildings.

An Hellenic cemetery was also discovered, on the low hills to the W. and S.W. of the main site, and here too lay a late Roman or Byzantine villa. In it two excellent pieces of sculpture came to light, as well as a few inscriptions; the former consist of the lower half of an archaic seated female figure, of fine workmanship, and the torso, from neck to knees, of a youth of about life size, and dating from the early years of the fifth century.

The excavations carried out by the University of Michigan (under the leadership of Professor D. M. Robinson, with the co-operation of Sir William Ramsay) at Antioch in Pisidia may appropriately be mentioned here, although the American School in Athens took no share in the work. At this important site, at which Sir William Ramsay had commenced operations in 1914, valuable

results were obtained during a campaign which lasted from May to August, 1924. As an account has already been published, with commendable promptitude (in *A.J.A.* xxviii. (1924), pp. 435-44), brief mention will suffice here. The discoveries in the Roman colony (for the Hellenistic town was not identified) include a massive stairway, 70 feet wide, and architectural fragments from its three arched passage-ways, apparently a memorial to Augustus. Some of the slabs bear in relief figures of captive Pisidian chiefs. These steps connect two large open spaces, as they lead up from the *Platea* of Tiberius to that of Augustus. On the N. side of the former was built later a row of shops, and on the S.-W. side, in the second century, a temple to Antoninus Pius or M. Aurelius, on the evidence of a fragment of inscribed cornice. At the foot of the steps there came to light more than two hundred more fragments of the text of the Latin version of the *Res Gestae* of Augustus, of which Sir William Ramsay had found some important pieces before the War put an end to his work.⁵ Their epigraphical and historical importance cannot be exaggerated, as they help us to restore several *lacunae* in the Ancyra copy, and, moreover, seem to include items not found in that version. Antioch seems not to have had a Greek version of the document.

We may also note the tetrastyle Corinthian temple, to Augustus and Men (?), of which numerous architectural remains came to light in the upper *Platea*: a colossal triple-arch, about 150 feet wide and 10 feet high, found near the western extremity of the city, dating from the third century of our era and erected by C. Julius Asper; and among miscellaneous finds of sculpture, a marble head of Augustus, lacking the nose, but otherwise a fine and characteristic portrait (*op. cit.*, Fig. 5).

Readers of this *Journal* will already be aware of the prospects of a scheme, initiated by the American School at Athens, for a comprehensive expropriation of the modern houses lying north of the Acropolis, with a view to the complete excavation of the site of the Hellenic Agora, and adjacent streets and buildings.⁶ Should the funds required be available, a start would not be long delayed, owing to the favourable attitude of the Greek Archaeological authorities.

BRITISH SCHOOL ^{6a}

The excavations at Sparta were continued in April and May, 1925, under the leadership of the Director, and the work was again divided between the theatre, the Acropolis, and outlying sites. At the theatre, important progress was made with clearing the stage-area, uncovering the *parodas* walls, and investigating the seating arrangements and general structure of the *orchestra*. Though indications of date are still lacking, it is now possible to distinguish remains of four different periods of construction in the stage, of which the earliest may possibly be Hellenistic. The second, and more massive, structure shows remains of a typical Roman *Proscenium*, with an elaborate façade,

⁵ Cf. *J.R.S.* vi. (1916), pp. 105 ff.

⁶ Cf. *The Times*, July 7th, 1925, etc.

^{6a} (Reprinted, with trifling alterations,

from the *Annual Report of the British School, 1924-25*.)

enriched, it appears, with a Corinthian colonnade, and three pairs of columns on massive chamfered plinths standing in front of it; the latter feature perhaps represents a later addition. Still later is the *Hyposcaenium*, with its marble facing and two semi-circular niches, found last year, and to a still later date (perhaps the fourth century) belongs a reconstruction of the west end of the stage into a self-contained room, with marble wall-encrustation, and a floor above the earlier stage-level: this is approached by the rough flight of steps found last year at the west end of the stage. The Byzantine fortress-wall is in its turn a later accretion at a higher level, outside this room. The eastern *parodos*-wall was cleared for more than half its length, and the series of inscriptions proved to stop about 14 metres east of the orchestra end, giving us over 30 inscribed blocks *in situ*, not to mention more than a dozen other fallen blocks represented by complete or fragmentary stones.

No similar inscriptions were, however, found at the west side of the stage, the facing-blocks of the wall having been almost all robbed. The *parodos* walls, moreover, had an interesting and exceptional feature, in that they made an outward bend at right angles, and then continued on their original lines; the cause of this was obscure until, after clearing away a vast mass of fallen blocks near the far end of the east wall, we found the marble facing-blocks in position for ten courses up from the ancient ground-level, and remains of an outside stairway, carried on this projection, which doubtless gave access to the *diakoma*. Moreover, by stripping away the later Byzantine wall built over the steps and seats nearest to the west *parodos*, we exposed the remains, quite unsuspected, of ten rows of seats in position, and of the twenty steps alongside them. The theatre proves to have had about thirty rows of seats below, and twenty above the *diakoma*, and was divided up by ten flights of steps in the lower, and nineteen in the upper portion, exclusive of the external flights. There is not sufficient evidence for the existence or absence of an outer arcade behind the topmost row of seats, but it became plain that the upper part of the *cavea* was all terraced up on made earth. The incidental finds in the way of sculpture from the theatre are unimportant, though mention may be made of a small headless figure with his hands tied behind him, and a pair of pipes represented on a tree-stem (probably Marsyas); and a marble base realistically carved to represent the prow of a ship must have carried a statue of Nike. The epigraphical finds are all of the Imperial Age, the most striking being a group of incomplete bronze tablets, of which the best-preserved gives a list of victors in athletic and musical contests, dating from about A.D. 150, many of whom come from cities of Syria and Asia Minor, others from Greece itself. The coins confirm the general indications of last year's finds, Byzantine outnumbering Greek and Roman together, in a total of over 650, by about 2:1. A hoard of sixty Byzantine copper pieces dates mostly from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, along with a few from the early tenth century; and among the earlier coins were interesting Roman and provincial pieces of the second century after Christ.

On the Acropolis, where we cleared the greater part of the regions south and west of the area explored last year, no new building of Hellenic date came

to light, but the deposit of votive debris thrown out on various occasions from the Chalkioikos sanctuary proved to extend unexpectedly far and deep; and much of it was buried beneath the thick layer of clay-filling thrown in to support the upper seats of the theatre. Stratification of the deposit on such a slope was naturally without any chronological significance, and some of the objects from the lowest level, where a kind of rubbish-pit existed, proved to be of Hellenistic date, but were accompanied by finds going back to the



FIG. 1.—STATUE FOUND AT SPARTA.
(By kind permission of the British School at Athens.)

Geometric period. Of the numerous and important finds from this area, of outstanding importance was a marble statue (Fig. 1), slightly larger than life-size, of a bearded warrior, wearing a helmet with cheek-pieces drawn down; these are decorated with a ram's horned head on each. The statue, from which the arms are missing, is complete down to the waist; and we found in addition a large portion of the marble crest of the helmet, the left leg from knee to ankle, wearing a greave adorned with spirals and a bearded snake's head, a small piece of the right foot, and one from the edge of the shield, also of marble. The head, which is turned somewhat to the left, with the gaze slightly upward, is firmly set on a powerful neck, and the pose, as is borne out by the treatment of muscles of the shoulders and back—which are beautifully

rendered—indicates that both arms were advanced and somewhat raised; the attitude should rather be interpreted as an alert defensive than an advance to the attack. The material is Parian marble, and the style, taking into account that the head is treated more archaically than the body, suggests a date about 480-470; certain details of treatment support the idea that it may be the product of a Peloponnesian School, of which our knowledge is still scanty. In any case it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of this masterpiece of portraiture in the history of fifth-century sculpture. The probability that it represents one of the heroes of the Persian wars is considerable, and, if choice be made, the pose suits better the last stand of the Hero of Thermopylae.

Notable additions were also made to the long series of bronze statuettes which this site has yielded, the finest being an Athena of mid-fifth century date (likewise Peloponnesian, but under Pheidian influence in the shape and expression of the face); but two earlier male figures, one of a man in the running-kneeling attitude, the other with his hands tied behind his back, but advancing with a long stride, are particularly attractive, and can hardly be later than the middle of the sixth century; votive bells, animals and miscellaneous pins and fragments offer little of fresh interest, nor were the few lead figurines of important types. The terra-cotta finds include polychrome architectural fragments, from early antefixes, and part of a ridge-tile; and a painted head from a large figurine, probably not later than 700 B.C., in superb preservation, is one of the finest archaic terra-cottas ever found in Greek soil (Fig. 2). The most important of the finds in pottery, which include Geometric, Laconian, Attic b.-f. and r.-f. pieces, are undoubtedly the Hellenistic vase-fragments decorated with medallions in relief, with various mythological scenes and types, from large vessels (mostly craters), some of which bear incised dedicatory inscriptions to 'Asanaia.' It is probable that important additions to this, as well as to many of the other groups of finds, will be made when the remainder of the votive deposit is explored: there may even be more fragments of our statue awaiting discovery, buried under ten or twelve feet of clay filling.

On a spur of the Acropolis hill further east we uncovered a large portion of the outer walls of the large Byzantine church, with a triple apse, of which remains were visible above ground. Remains of its marble-paved floor were found at one point, and interesting information was obtained about its external walls and the porch at the west end. A large number of worked marbles of Classical, in addition to those of Byzantine origin, came to light, as well as several inscriptions of the early Imperial Age. Indications were also found that the church had subsequently been converted into a mosque, as a few fragments of marble carving seemed definitely Turkish, and a much-destroyed element built into the south wall seems to be the base of a minaret. A deposit of terra-cotta figurines and model votive limbs found under the floor at this point shows that there was some occupation of the site in Classical times.

Close to the theatre, trial-trenches revealed a Roman structure with an elaborate mosaic pavement—perhaps part of the bath-building of which remains are standing above ground; and on the south slope of the hill which continues the Acropolis ridge eastwards, not far from the modern road to

Tripolis, we discovered an elaborate structure with a complicated system of hypocausts, clearly a Roman villa of extensive size. The pottery and coins found in and near it indicated an occupation, perhaps intermittent, from the second down to the fourth century of our era.

The exploration of mounds in the Vardar Valley, begun last year at Vardino, has been continued this year under the leadership of Mr. W. A. Heurtley, Assistant-Director. The large 'Toumba' of Vardarovca, which dominates the whole of the lower Vardar, and is so conspicuous a landmark from the railway between Karasouli and Salonika, has been tested extensively to a depth of five metres. The total depth of the artificial deposit is estimated at



FIG. 2.—TERRACOTTA HEAD FOUND AT SPARTA.
(By kind permission of the British School at Athens.)

sixteen to twenty metres, and two more seasons will be required to complete the work. The results have so far been unusually interesting and important. Unlike the upper strata of mounds hitherto explored in Macedonia, those at Vardarovca were found to be quite undisturbed. Below two settlements of the Hellenistic period (the lower of which contained numerous 'pithoi' *in situ*) began to appear pottery of a type whose existence was already known from the finds at Pateli, from the cemetery of Chauchitza, from last year's excavation at Vardino and from rare examples from Troy, Thessaly and Skyros, but whose chronological limits it had not been possible to determine. As the work proceeded, this pottery became more abundant, and from the sixth to the ninth half-metre was found to prevail to the exclusion of all other. Its characteristic types are:—(1) one-handed *kantharoi*, wheel-made, of fine grey clay; (2) wide open bowls with broad flat rims on which are stamped or incised tangential circles, hatched triangles and other geometric patterns;

(3) round jugs with twisted handles and cut-away necks. Painted ware with geometric patterns, mostly concentric circles, also occurs, but in small quantities. As at Vardino, this pottery appears just above a thick layer of ashes, which, to judge from the sherds found immediately above, in and below it, marks the destruction of the last settlement of the Mycenaean Age. So far as could be ascertained, there was no long period of non-occupation on the Toumba, and as a result of this year's work it may now be possible to fix with precision the beginning of this post-Mycenaean culture in Macedonia, its various stages and the point where it becomes absorbed by Hellenic influence. There is reason to believe that when the excavation of this site has been completed, an unbroken sequence of Macedonian pottery, from the earliest times, will be obtained, and that the relations of prehistoric Macedonia to Asia Minor, Thessaly, and the North respectively will be definitely ascertained.

The elevated plateaux, or tables, north and south of the Toumba were also examined. The latest period of the 'High Table' is represented by a house of the third century B.C., as is shown by the pottery and terra-cottas associated with it. At a somewhat lower level is a mass of red clay rising abruptly towards the edge of the plateau, probably the remains of a rampart of unbaked bricks. Below this were several settlements destroyed by fire. The pottery consists of the later local fabrics, which, at 5 to 5.50 metres below the surface, give place to hand-made black polished ware belonging to the Early Iron Age.

The 'Low Table,' on the other hand, appears to have been occupied in the Late Mycenaean and Early Iron Age and then abandoned. Whether it was inhabited in earlier times remains to be seen; but is unlikely, as the lowest metre of clay contained no sherds.

A third excavation, carried out under the auspices of the British School by Mr. S. Casson, formerly Assistant-Director, was that of a prehistoric mound at Kilindir near Lake Doiran. The finds included some remarkable painted pottery of a type not hitherto found in Macedonia, and several objects of bronze, including a large double-headed axe of a Danubian type, and a heavy sickle; most interesting was the evidence of metal-smelting, as a number of hearths, accompanied by vitreous slag, came to light. Pending its analysis, the identification of the metal, and conclusions to be drawn from it, must remain uncertain.

FRENCH SCHOOL.¹

Delphi.—Supplementary researches in the Marmaria sanctuary have found further fragments of the marble sculptures belonging to the *Tholos*, and have more clearly distinguished those belonging respectively to the *Peristasis* and to the inner *Order*; and deep trial-shafts near this building and the *poros* temple to the west of it have yielded fresh pieces of sculpture and architectural fragments as well as early archaic bronze statuettes and fibulae. The appear-

¹ Material kindly supplied by the late Ficard, and the Secretary, M. R. Demangel; Director of the French School, M. Ch. et. *B.C.H.* xlviii. pp. 473 ff.

ance of the first Fascicule of the definitive publication of the Pronais sanctuary⁸ is a matter for the greatest satisfaction; it describes the two 'Temples de Tuf' and the two Treasuries.

In the *Hieron*, MM. Picard and Replat have again examined the question of the 'Inner Order' of the temple of Apollo, and claim to have finally established that a portion of the Cella was left unroofed, and that along its sides there were probably short lateral projections dividing its area up into 'chapels' as at the Heraeum at Olympia, and that the feature previously taken by M. Courby to be the *adyton* is only the *oikos*. The outer portico on the west of the *Hieron* has been further cleared, and its plan now is more intelligible; the transformation of the east portion of it into *Thermae* took place before its collapse. Interesting new inscriptions from this region include another fragment of (fourth century) temple-accounts, the signature of a sculptor of the Rhodian school, manumission-records, and a metrical text from, apparently, an equestrian statue. The stratification of the *Hermes temenos*,⁹ has been tested, and revealed Neolithic sherds in the deepest level, Geometric immediately above them, and then an exclusively Corinthian stratum; the cult seems not to have lasted later than the beginning of the fifth century B.C. Further important examples of Corinthian ware have been found, including pieces decorated with human figures, which will permit of restoration. A rich deposit of votive bronzes included fragments of statuettes, weapons, tools, *phiai*, and large pieces of *appliqué* from gryphons, and from a winged and helmeted female 'genius,' and the head of an ornate votive shepherd's crook (*op. cit.* p. 477, Fig. 10). It is now certain that in the Geometric period there was only one shrine here, a second having been added in early archaic times.

Delos.—Further researches have provided a more satisfactory plan of the N.-E. Stoa of the Artemision, and for the 'New Artemision' a revised restoration has established the presence of a frieze, previously denied, and reconstructs the dedicatory inscription, on three blocks of the architrave; the date proves to be late. The terrace south of the Cabeirion now appears to have been occupied by archaic sanctuaries facing the Heraion on the east. A *temenos* adjacent to the former, with enclosure-wall, and portico on three sides, has been located and planned, and it now seems probable that to the south of it lay the Herakleion. The discovery of a massive wall of archaic date, equipped also with a sluice, which encloses on the west the upper basin of the Inopos, seems to confirm the hypothesis that this was, in fact, the lake mentioned by Herodotus,¹⁰ and that thus the important early sanctuaries were situated hereabouts, the lower-lying lake being merely an addition of Hellenistic times. At Phourni the task has been commenced of uncovering a sanctuary which forms a rectangle of 53 × 25 metres; it faces the sea, and is approached by a road from the vicinity of Mt. Cynthus. The *naos* and the base of the cult-statue have been identified; and in clearing a portico on the west a fragmentary bilingual inscription in Greek and Phoenician, the *ex-voto* of a native of Tyre (named Poumai = Pygmaios) of early Imperial date, has come to light. Further

⁸ *Fouilles de Delphes*, Tome II. (3uz. Fasc.), Paris, 1924.

⁹ Cf. *J.H.S.* 1924, p. 264.

¹⁰ II. 170.

researches will, it is hoped, shortly reveal the identity and duration of the cult, and thus shed further light on the relations of Delos with the Eastern Mediterranean. Good progress has recently been made with the final publication of the exploration of Delos.¹¹

Thasos.—In the spring of 1924, further work at the Dionysion included the uncovering of the *temenos*-wall to the north and south-east, and of the rest of the choragic monument found in 1923.¹² Among epigraphical finds in this area we may note a dedication of late date by a Mystic Dionysiac Corporation and two set up by the *Apologoi*—one to the hero Pontos, dating from the late fourth century, and the other to Agathos Daimon (early third century), whose altar, it will be remembered, was found in the precinct in the previous campaign. The gateway known as the 'Gate of Semele,' over which is the relief representing, it now seems, Hermes, Semele, Dionysos and Ino (or Persephone?), appears in the light of further excavation to be an integral part of the city-wall, built in 494 B.C.—thus establishing the date of the relief—and the small secluded beach to which it leads may have been chosen as the scene of certain Dionysiac rites. An inscription, 43 lines long, dating from the second century B.C., found adjacent is a decree of the 'Serapiastai' of Thasos, giving interesting particulars of the organisation of that society and of the conditions attaching to certain privileges connected with it. On the Acropolis, in clearing the south end of the Genoese fortress-wall, the most interesting find made was an inscription dating from about 300 B.C. (a decree dated to the year of the archon Pheidippos, known already from *I.G.* xii. 8, 287); finds of sculpture close by include an archaic male torso and the head of a sphinx. Between the *Bouleuterion* and the 'Gate of Silemnis' the foundations of a *temenos*-wall of good work have been uncovered, and near the 'Lion-gate' the jambs of yet another hitherto unknown gate in the city-wall.

In 1925 work was resumed in various areas of the city. Among the principal discoveries to be recorded is a *temenos* containing a small temple (represented by foundations only), an altar, and a small circular base grouped close together, which faces a road ascending the hill below the theatre. These monuments seem to be of late date, and a possible clue to their identity is a fragmentary decree of the 'Poseidoniastai,' a corporation hitherto unknown in Thasos. In the region of the Agora, where no work was done in 1924, the chief result was the discovery of a fine *exedra*, of small dimensions, dating from the Imperial period; it was semi-circular in plan and originally contained seven bronze statues. Inscriptions engraved on the orthostat-blocks show that two of these represented Komeis and his wife, and that the sculptor's name was Limendas, an artist hitherto unknown. The monument faces a wide street leading from the *Prytaneum* to the Arch of Carnacalla. A journey of exploration in the south of the island has yielded numerous fragments of inscriptions and grave-reliefs (at Theologo), and at Aliki, on the site first explored by Bent (*J.H.S.* viii. (1887), p. 434; cf. *J.H.S.* xxix. (1909), p. 237 f.), the fourth-century temple has been re-planned and in part excavated afresh.

¹¹ Pt. viii. 1, in 1922; viii. 2 and Plates to Pt. viii. in 1924.

¹² *J.H.S.* 1924, p. 267 f.; *B.C.H.* xlvii. pp. 536 ff.; and now xlviii. p. 502 f.

Philippi.—Work was resumed here for a month in May, 1924, the regions examined being the theatre, the Agora, and the Christian Basilica at Derekler. At the theatre, the N.-W. *parodos*, together with the adjacent portion of the orchestra, has been fully cleared. It is now plain that in the third century of our era a cult of Nemesis was actually established in this *parodos*, in connexion with the *Venationes* and gladiatorial games held in the theatre.¹² In the Roman Agora the foundations of another building (not yet identified) have come to light. At the Basilica of Derekler, the stylobate of the inner colonnade has been cleared, and a second inscription in 'Old Bulgarian' has been found—similar in style to that discovered in the previous campaign—which sheds light on the internal struggles of the district in the tenth century. To the south of the church a chapel has been found, resembling in position and construction the Baptistery found previously. Finally, trials made near the Drama-Cavalla road have yielded, in addition to the foundations of a fortification-wall, mutilated fragments of a colossal bronze statue, suggesting analogies to that at Barietta; as, however, the principal portions seem to be buried beneath the modern road, their extraction may be difficult. The important results of the campaign of 1924 at Mallia in Crete (cf. *J.H.S.* 1924, p. 269 f.) are described in *B.C.H.* xlviii. pp. 492 ff.

GERMAN SCHOOL

An account of the resumed excavations at Aegina, and of a short campaign carried out at the site of Amyklai, must, to my regret, be held over to next year's summary.

GREEK ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERVICE¹³

Athens and Attica.—Dr. P. Kastriotis has found it possible to proceed on a small scale with the excavation of the Odeion of Pericles, but progress will inevitably be slow until the small modern houses can be expropriated and removed, and, moreover, there are in many places more than twenty feet of earth to dig through. In 1924 he examined the remains of a *Propylon* situated between the Odeion and the Dionysiac theatre, partly cleared in 1862, which he identifies with that mentioned by Andocides¹⁴ in connexion with the route taken by the Hermokopidai. The entrance to the Odeion, which he would locate in this region, is apparently under some of the modern houses. He has also cleared a considerable portion of the north wall of the building, and has examined the fortification-wall, attributed to the fifth century of our era, close to the *Propylon* mentioned above.

Accidental finds of considerable interest continue to be made in various parts of Athens. East of the Palace, in Regilla St., building operations revealed, and Mr. N. Pappadakis superintended the excavation of part of a

¹² *J.H.S.* 1924, p. 268. *B.C.H.* xlviii. pp. 287 ff., and 501.

¹³ I am deeply indebted to Dr. K. Romaos, head of the Archaeological Service,

for putting at my disposal the reports submitted to himself by the various Greek archaeologists concerned.

¹⁴ *De Myst.* § 38.

late Roman house, built without bricks, but containing many architectural marbles among its foundations. The most interesting were three slabs, ornamented with reliefs (height, .80; length 1.58; thickness .20 metre) which must have belonged to the decoration of some Dionysiac base or altar, and seem to date from Hadrianic times. The central slab represents a standing youthful Dionysos, holding a thyrsus and *phiale*, with a satyr on his left, holding a jug; on each side of these figures are Nikai sacrificing bulls, in poses which are agreeably reminiscent of the Nike-balustrade group. The other slabs show respectively a pair of satyrs carrying a crater, while two others tread out the grapes, and a Dionysiac panther leaping upon a thyrsos. Mention must also be made of a mosaic pavement, suggesting the site of an unsuspected Roman villa, found in the early summer of 1925, during road-widening operations in front of the Old Palace.

Far more interesting is an accidental find brought up by fishermen on the east coast of Attica in June of this year. It is a bronze statue (complete except for the loss of part of the right foot, of the attributes from the hands, and (probably) of a wreath from the head) of a youth, about 1.20 m. (= 4 feet) tall, with the right hand raised above, and out from the shoulder, and the left hand, in which is a sinking as if to hold a flat *phiale*, held out horizontally. No attribute is visible in the right hand, but the action suggests pouring, although this does not easily suit the position of the fingers. When it has been freed from its marine incrustation we shall be better able to judge of its quality (cf. Fig. 3); the first impression is certainly attractive, but does not indicate so early a date as the fourth century B.C., and the pose rather suggests a Hellenistic reminiscence of a Satyr-type derived from Praxiteles than the work of any famous master.¹⁸ The probability that it is the firstfruits of another shipwrecked cargo is considerable; remains of old timbers sometimes come ashore in the fishermen's nets there, and a bronze foot presumably from a candelabrum was found not many days after the statue.

At Eleusis, Dr. Kourouniotes explored the south gate of the sanctuary and completed the uncovering of the important polygonal building, which had been partly cleared in 1920, situated a short distance outside it. He found, at about a metre above the native rock, the original threshold, contemporary with the fourth-century precinct-wall, and clear traces of burning on the jambs of the gateway; the Roman gateway, at a higher level, proved to have a marble threshold, and a narrower entrance, and a still later (but likewise Roman) rebuilding was represented by a still higher threshold, and an even narrower passage-way. The polygonal structure on being fully cleared revealed itself as surrounding a small house, which comprises a large room on the north, with three smaller rooms to the south and a court in front, of which the paving is partly preserved. The first small room is divided into two parts, of which one, with a floor at a slightly lower level, was filled with urns containing ashes, the rest forming a paved passage leading to a circular pit. The two other

¹⁸ A photograph appeared in *The Times*, June 25th, 1925. The nearest parallel seems to be the badly restored Satyr in the Museo Boncompagni (Terme) at Rome, No. 32; cf. the Palermo version figured by Anichini-Holtzinger, i., Fig. 134.

rooms to the south were also filled with vessels containing ashes. This pottery is all late-Geometric or Proto-Corinthian.

The purpose of the polygonal enclosure-wall was perhaps to protect the remains of the early house, which would seem to have had a sacral character; an earlier wall of *poros* masonry had been built over its ruins at a date possibly before the fifth century; but the objects of sixth-century date, including b.i.



FIG. 3.—BRONZE STATUE FOUND IN THE SEA.
(By kind permission of Dr. K. Kouroumiotes).

vase-fragments found above it, may have been deposited there later, in clearing out debris from within the Precinct proper.

The most interesting incidental find occurred in this building, namely, a small, and practically undamaged, female statue, dating from the early fifth century. It represents a young woman, wearing a Doric peplos and a high crown, running to the left, with head turned back, as though in flight and alarm. Dr. Kouroumiotes happily interprets her as Persephone fleeing from Pluto, or one of her companions running terror-stricken from the sight of her

mistress's capture. Its style makes it appropriate to a pedimental sculpture from a small shrine. The conventionalised sweep of the drapery of this charming figure is in surprising contrast to the general treatment; but it seems unthinkable that it could be an archaistic work.

At the Amphiareion, near Oropus, Dr. B. Leonardos has continued work on both sides of the stream. On the right (south) bank he has uncovered all the eastern processional way, which joins the main street from north to south, which in turn led over the bridge known from inscriptions; he has also brought to light a small *stoa*, with three columns, resembling that of the 'winter guest-house.' On the left bank a small temple has been cleared; it is of good construction, and of a fairly early date, as it lay beneath two large bases for equestrian statues which themselves may be as early as the fourth, if not the fifth, century B.C. The Archaeological Society hopes to put in hand a comprehensive publication of all the results obtained at this site.

Mr. N. Pappadakis, Ephor in charge of the 'second archaeological district,' reports that his attempt to locate the sanctuary and altar of Zeus Kenaïos, traditionally connected with the 'pyre of Herakles' on Mt. Oeta, led to mainly negative results. A massive enclosure-wall, more than 2 metres thick, was discovered, surrounding an area of which one side measured 50 metres, but neither temple nor altar came to light within it; later building, in Byzantine and Turkish times, has caused much destruction outside the enclosure. The small finds were unimportant. The Museum of Thebes has been enriched by the exhibition of the remainder of the bronze votives, etc., from his excavations of the 'pyre of Herakles,' and the statue of Hadrian as Ares, from Coroneia, has been set up there.¹⁷ Another notable accession is the important pottery from Eutresis (Parapoungia) found in the recent American excavations.¹⁸

Dr. K. Romaïos, head of the Department of Antiquities, spent three weeks at Thermion, where his main task was the examination of the temple associated with the Geometric stratum. This proved to have both its long sides and the north end slightly curved, but the south end, in which was the entrance, is straight. That the peristyle of this temple was also apsidal in plan was already known. The influence of the well-known pre-Geometric ellipsoid buildings at Thermion on the plan of this temple seems incontestable.

In Thessaly, Dr. A. S. Arvanitopoulos, who has since been transferred to Athens, as Ephor of the Acropolis and Attica, resumed his interesting work at the temple of Zeus Thaulios, at Pherae. At a short distance from the east wall of the temple he brought to light the remains of five or six other smaller structures, one of which seems to have been a small temple, and the remainder, bases or altars rectangular in plan, built of massive blocks of *poros*. The architectural and other finds from the main temple are again important. They include fragments of Doric capitals and frieze-blocks of archaic type, in *poros*, with traces of painted stucco, and of a later date is a marble metope with a relief of a lion slaying a bull. Marble fragments have also been found of draped female statues, and several pieces of inscribed marble stelai; one of these is a

¹⁷ *J.H.S.* 1924, p. 275.

¹⁸ See above, p. 211.

dedication to Ennodia, another has the interesting phrase *ἐξαιρέα καὶ κατὰρχούσα*, and others belong to proxeny-decrees. This important excavation, carried out at the expense of the Archaeological Society, will not fail, let us hope, for lack of funds.

Trial excavations in the plain of Halmyros, at Halos and elsewhere, found abundant remains of the Geometric style, but, contrary to expectation, nothing of the Mycenaean period.

Peloponnese.—At Epidauros, Professor Kavvadias completed his task of uncovering the two large buildings near the Reservoir of Antoninus. The area of the larger is 1,900 square metres, and of the smaller, 850. Indications have been found showing that they were two, if not even three stories high, and were furnished with a most elaborate hypocaust system; and that hot water was laid on, even to the upper storeys, by metal pipes. With the elaborate mosaic pavement in the main hall of the larger building, the marble-paved floors in other rooms, and costly wall-incrustation in the same material, these must have ranked among the most magnificent Roman baths in Greek lands. It only remains to verify whether the purpose of them was exclusively as *Thermae*. At Stymphalus important results rewarded Professor Orlandos's excavations, undertaken at the expense of the Archaeological Society, which were only preliminary to a more extensive campaign. In the vicinity of the village of Velatsouri, thanks to the drop in the level of the lake, due to the dry summer, it proved possible to examine the south-west region of the ancient city, and to locate several buildings. Most interesting is a temple, attributed to the Hellenistic era, whose foundations measure 16.40 by 7.60 metres; it was tetrastyle prostyle, and each of the front columns stood on a separate base; the foundations of the basis of the statue are preserved in the *cella*, and the back of the building is divided into two parts (treasuries?).

Other structures found include a possible *Propylon*, a fountain—in the shape of the letter Π—with four spouts, and a *tholos* with which is connected a narrow corridor; this round building stands in the centre of a wide space, very possibly the Agora, bounded on the north by a low hill with scarped cutting. On this hill stand three more temples, of which the westernmost has been described already by Frazer and by Lattemann and Hiller von Gaertringen.¹⁹ A systematic examination of this promising site should yield results of the highest importance, and Professor Orlandos is to be congratulated on the attractive prospect awaiting him.

Mr. Kyparissis further investigated the Mycenaean cemetery found in 1923 at Agrafidia, but with mostly negative results, as he found that with trifling exceptions the remaining tombs had collapsed or been destroyed, and the yield of pottery—ordinary Mycenaean ware in damaged condition—was not extensive.

Macedonia.—At Salonika, Mr. Pelekides, Ephor for Macedonia, has continued his excavations of the region, which has yielded him important finds of

¹⁹ Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. iv, pp. 271 ff.; H. Lattemann and F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Alt. Mit.* xl (1915), pp. 71 ff.

sculpture since 1921 onwards.²⁰ We may note among others a colossal head of Sarapis, a life-size statue of Harpocraton, a colossal head of Athena, and two finely-worked female heads which may be portraits.

In the islands, interesting results are reported by Mr. Pippas, Ephor for the Cyclades. At Rheneia, near the Herakleion, he excavated some more Geometric-age tombs close to those explored by Stavropoulos in 1899, and found iron sickles in them, similar to those found—to the number of fifty—in the 'precinct of purification'; other sickles were found in two tombs dating from the end of the fifth century. Dr. Romaïos, who spent some time in Myconos and Rheneia, working in conjunction with Mr. Pippas, suggests that they were prizes dedicated by dancers to Artemis, and thus resemble those from the Orthia sanctuary at Sparta.

Mr. Romaïos himself excavated seven tombs, which all proved to be later in date than those within the Precinct, and it seems that no interments took place within it after 425 B.C., which thus gives a valuable chronological datum for the finds from the tombs contained in it. Outside it, burials continued to take place throughout Hellenistic into Roman times. He also re-examined the large mass of vases found by Stavropoulos in 1899, and thanks to careful research by Mr. Pippas it is now possible to distinguish the finds from within the Precinct (i.e. earlier than 425 B.C.) from those made outside it, which must be later. In Siphnos Mr. Dragatsis completed the plan of the ancient Acropolis now called Hagia Niketas, on which he had been long engaged, and planned, though further excavation is still required, the great tomb of Soroudi, which stands on a massive stepped plinth—on the west it is over 20 metres high. The presence of Roman pot-sherds gives a probable indication of its date. He has also located two more towers, in the southern portion of the island, bringing the total now known, and studied, by him up to thirty-eight.

In Crete, Dr. Xanthoudidis has further examined the neighbourhood of the Early Minoan tomb, which he excavated some years ago at Pyrgos, on the north coast east of Candia,²¹ and found part of a gold diadem in a recess of the tomb itself. Close by, he found two burials in hollows among the rocks, also, in view of a few sherds found close at hand, dating from E.M. I. times. The settlement to which these burials belonged is probably to be sought on the rocky hill of Pyrgos, on the surface of which sherds of this period occur, and some thirty shallow cuttings in the native rock, of uncertain purpose, may well be connected with it. At Nirou Chani, alongside the modern road, between the Minoan house and the sea, the same scholar has proved that practically the whole deposit here consists of debris thrown out at the time of the building of the existing (L.M. I.) Megaron.²² Scanty remains of walls were found at a depth of three metres, but the whole soil was full of sherds of M.M. date, including much polychrome ware; the commonest shapes were cups with low stems, and two-handled bridge-spouted jars. Two lamps of unusual type also came to light, and the small terra-cotta figure of a seated ram, with white paint on a dark ground, is well modelled in a naturalistic style.

²⁰ Cf. F.W., 1922-23, p. 87; recent finds in *Manchester Guardian*, June 29th, 1925.

²¹ *Αρχ. Ανατ.*, iv. p. 136.

²² *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1922, pp. 1 ff.

The site of the cemetery was also located, some 500 metres to the west, but the great floods of 1897 had destroyed all the tombs except one, of which the lower part was discovered, deep down in the bed of the Vatheianos torrent. Scanty remains of a skeleton and two squat stirrup-vases, simply decorated, of L.M. II. type were found, together with some engraved gems of high artistic merit, and a bull's head—in the round—carved in sardonyx; even more attractive were the remains of two small male figures, originally about two inches high, delicately carved in ivory, possibly from the heads of pins, of the same material, of which many fragments were found with them. It makes us regret that the rest of this cemetery has been destroyed by natural agency, when part of one small tomb has proved so rich. Finally, Dr. Xanthoudidis examined the remains of a settlement partly visible on the beach of the little haven formed by the promontory of Hagios Theodoros, about a kilometre west of the Minoan house. Remains of houses exist partly buried in sand, partly under water; among the latter can be recognised on a calm day a wall supporting two column-bases. He has found sufficient pottery to establish that the settlement is, like Nirou Chani itself, of L.M. I. date; and he hopes to excavate it as far as practicable.

Byzantine Remains.—Professor G. Soteriou, Ephor of Byzantine Antiquities, has further explored the important early Basilica at New Anchialos in Thessaly,²² finding many remains of its marble wall-incrustation as well as of its architectural members, including interesting capitals of late (Theodosian) types of the Corinthian and Ionic orders. Not only does the church date from the late fourth or early fifth century, but, from outlying finds, it is clear that the city (Thessalian Thebes) was of considerable size and importance at that period.

Of wider appeal will be Professor Soteriou's researches on the site of the great church of St. Demetrius at Salonika. It will be remembered that it suffered irreparable damage in the great fire of Salonika in 1917, and that in clearing the fallen debris a crypt was unexpectedly uncovered beneath the floor of the church. He has now established that the southern portion of this crypt, at any rate, represents a Roman structure, presumably part of a bath-building; he has located the steps leading down to it, and has established that the original entrance of the crypt had a columned porch, with, apparently, a colonnade flanking it on each side. The latter was presumably pulled down at the time of the rebuilding of the church in the sixth century. It is, moreover, now clear that the original church built by Leontius in A.D. 412, and subsequently burnt down, did not differ in plan from the sixth-century church which replaced it—i.e. a Basilica of Hellenistic type with transept and wooden roof. Remains of the floor of the earlier church, with a pavement of '*opus incertum*,' have come to light below that of the later one, with its paving of large, irregular marble flags. A fuller account is promised by the expert concerned, to appear in the '*Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*'; meanwhile our satisfaction at these highly interesting discoveries is accompanied by regret at learning that it has been necessary to pull down a further portion of the east end, which

²² *J.H.S.* 1924, p. 275.

was in a dangerously insecure condition. Let us hope that the necessary steps will be taken, under the best possible expert advice, to save the remainder—before it is too late!

At Nikopolis, Professor A. Philadelphus has made important progress with clearing the large early Christian building first located in 1921.²⁴ A large rectangular paved area has been uncovered south of the main entrance, surrounded with a colonnade, which the excavator thinks belonged to some different building, and was incorporated later in Byzantine times, perhaps to form a seminary in connection with the Metropolis Church of the city. A mosaic, with geometric design, was found in the southern wing of the colonnade; it may have run round all sides of it, but nowhere else has it been found *in situ*. The discoverer ascribes this building to the same Archbishop Alkison whose name he found in an inscription relating to the main building in 1922, and of whom we hear as a contemporary of the Emperor Anastasius.

ITALIAN SCHOOL

No excavations had been undertaken by the Italian School before the end of the summer.²⁵

ARTHUR M. WOODWARD.

POSTSCRIPT

Sir Arthur Evans, in *The Times* of October 9th, 1925, gives an account of the structural and topographical results of his latest studies at Knossos. No extensive excavation was carried out.

²⁴ Cf. *J.H.S.* 1921, p. 274. I am indebted to the excavator for fuller particulars.

²⁵ Attention may be drawn to the fuller

publication of Dr. D. Levi's excavations at Afrati (cf. *J.H.S.* 1924, pp. 278 ff.) in *Liverpool Annals*, xii. (1925), pp. 3-14.

APOLLO AT THE BACK OF THE NORTH WIND

CHAPTER I

THE PREHISTORIC AMBER ROUTES

THERE are not many of the occupations of primitive man in Europe that have continued to the present day. The beasts that he hunted have, for the most part, disappeared: the elk and the mammoth are in the museum; the weapons which he employed in his pursuit of them must be sought for in the same quarter; if we were suddenly to come upon him in some unexplored area, his speech would be almost as unintelligible to us as the cry of a monkey, or the shriek of a sea-bird. But there is one primitive pursuit that is still being carried on almost unchanged. On the shores and in the shallows of the Eastern Baltic sea men are still searching and dredging for the exudations of the primeval forest which go under the name of amber. It was ornament and amulet in the beginning, it is a desirable decoration to-day: at one time almost an equivalent of the precious metals, and perhaps in earlier esteem than they, and not destitute of magical influences, as well as of commercial worth; it stands now, as then, with coral and with pearls, as a thing greatly to be desired. The *Passionate Pilgrim* of Shakespeare offers to his love

'A belt of straw and ivy-buds,
With coral clasps and amber studs:'

that pilgrim, too, might be prehistoric as far as his proffered charms go, and he himself of the longest European lineage. It was of such ornaments, belike, that the lover in the *Canticles* spoke when he said that his beloved had bewitched his heart with one chain of her neck. In our own day it is hung round the neck of a teething child, the old magic breathing its last in the nursery.¹ Many an ancient barrow is in evidence for the prevalence of the amber decorations both of persons and of implements; and it has been the surprise of the archaeologist to discover the vast distances over which the Baltic product was carried in times when forests might seem to be quite impassable and rivers unnavigable. We may set before ourselves the task of determining the routes by which the uncivilised North sent its treasures to the civilised South, and we shall find that the amber route is the original trade route, along which the luxuries of life went out in search of the necessities: the amber way from the Baltic to the Black Sea being the same as the salt way from the Black Sea to the Baltic; the shallows of the North Sea and the marshes of the Euxine being engaged in an alternate tribute of things to be desired.

¹ Even in Pliny's time it was a child's amulet: see *H.N.* xxxvii. 51: '*Infantibus adligari amuleti ratione prodest.*'

Our earliest amber way may be imagined most readily by selecting approximately the termini of the route, and then tracing by the help of natural configuration or by archaeological discovery or historical allusion the intermediate line of transfer. We shall not be very far wrong if we start from Danzig as one of the termini of the line, and if we end at the ancient Greek colony of Olbia near the mouth of the Dnieper. Then, as we find ourselves in each case favourably placed for river traffic, it is easy to see that the Vistula and the Dnieper will form a nearly continuous line from the one assumed port to the other. Only the middle of the line, running through vast morasses and forests, will be unrecognisable, but no doubt then, as now, there were tracks which led from the upper waters of one great river to the upper waters of the other. This, then, we shall assume as the first amber way from Danzig to the Crimea, as a rough approximation. So far, there does not seem to be much divergence of opinion; the historian and the archaeologist agree that the Euxine and the Baltic were in communication of some sort from very early times.² Nor would there be very serious objection to the selection of Danzig as a principal trading-centre of antiquity: its position at the mouth of a great river makes it a natural point of entrance for the hinterland. Difficulty, however, arises in two ways; first, it is certain that amber is found on the Western Baltic and even at some points on the North Sea; and second, that it was exported from the North Sea by various lines of communication to the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. Suppose we reserve our decision as to the existence of an early North Sea amber trade, and concede the western traffic without deciding its ultimate origin; we make the reservation on the ground that so far as examination of amber relics has been made, as, for instance, in Mycenaean tombs, the amber is that from the Eastern Baltic; and we make the concession on the ground that it is much easier to send amber from the Danzig area and beyond along the seaboard as far as the North Sea, than to send it over vast distances of Central European forest. Those who agree to this concession are making a new trade route for amber and other commodities, and they subdivide this route, whether from the Baltic or the North Sea, into the subordinate routes; first they suggest that the trade-way followed the line of the Elbe nearly to its source, and that it then struck across to find the Danube, and from a convenient point on the Danube (probably Carnuntum, in Pannonia) it made its way into the Adriatic and so into Mediterranean lands and civilisations. We may call this the Elbe-Danube-Adriatic trade-route.

Others continue the route from the North Sea to the south and west; they then transfer the traffic to the land, and follow one of the Gallic trade-routes to Marseilles; or else they transfer the commodity to the Phoenician ships and work round by sea to the Mediterranean: the latter hypothesis does not commit us to the belief that the Phoenicians themselves reached the Baltic.

² But see what Genth says in favour of a more westerly route from the Baltic to the Mediterranean: *infra*, p. 231: the

lower terminus would be not far from Aquileia.

These are some of the suggestions that have been made as to the way in which places might be connected, distances shortened, and communication facilitated. We mention them at this point as a possible alternative for the overland traffic in amber, not because we think them to be likely routes for any extensive traffic in the earliest times, but because the Etruscans undoubtedly traded in amber, and we shall affirm that they obtained it from the head of the Adriatic, and that means that there was trade connexion with some point on the Danube. We shall see later on that this does not require the recognition of the Elbe-Danube trade-route, though it might join such a line if it actually existed.

Now let us return to the Baltic and see if we can find out anything of the earliest trade-routes from the Danzig area. To the south of Danzig lies the town of Bromberg, and not far from Bromberg, a short distance to the S.W., is the village of Szubin. Here were found in 1824 by a countryman at work in his field thirty-nine Greek coins of the earliest period. The coins are of silver, and belong to the fifth century B.C. Some of them are to be referred to Olbia, on account of the occurrence of the Gorgon's head, for the chief cult-figures of that city are Perseus and Apollo, and Perseus without Medusa is not to be thought of. It has not unnaturally been inferred that the village where these coins were found lies on or near the trade-route from Danzig to the Black Sea. The coins are described and figured by Levezow in the *Abhandlungen der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* for the year 1833. Sadowski, who also reproduces some of the coins in his treatise on the *Trade-routes of the Greeks (Handelstrassen der Griechen u. Römer)*,² agrees with Levezow that the coins were found on the Danzig-Euxine trade-route. A reference to Hirschfeld's article on Amber (Bernstein) in the *Real-Encyclopädie* of Pauly-Wissowa will show that we must not march too rapidly in our conclusion as to the southern end of the trade-route.

An examination of a number of archaeological finds by Genthe³ led him to the conclusion that one trade-route must have gone further west than would have been required for those travelling to the Black Sea, and he suggested an alternative route to the Baltic from Macedonia through Serbia, Hungary, Silesia, Posen and West Prussia. In this way Genthe was able to explain the occurrence of amber in Etruscan tombs, and the occurrence of Etruscan antiques in the Eastern Baltic area.

Now it is just as necessary to find the line of traffic to the Adriatic as it is to trace it to the mouths of the great Russian rivers; and it is quite possible that both the routes indicated are prehistoric, in which case they might both start from Danzig or some point further east, follow the line of the Vistula to Bromberg, where the river turns sharply to the east, the one route continuing along the Vistula, and the other striking across, as Genthe suggests, to Posen, and so to the line of the Oder.

² Tr. from the Polish by Kohn (Jena, 1877).

³ *Die Beziehungen der Griech. u. Römer*

z. Balticum; *Verhandl. der 39. Karlsruher Philol. Versamml.*

We have been speaking of the earliest trade-routes that can be suspected or made probable in this part of Europe. For this reason we put the matter tentatively, as we have no historical documents to draw upon. If we could assume that the trade-route once found was established in perpetuity, and that amber and other goods travelled in the time of the Roman Empire over the same line of rails that they did in the fifth century *A.D.*, our task would be very much easier. For we could use the historians and geographers of later times to make our map and set the stations in order. Tacitus and Pliny and Strabo would come to our aid, and Ptolemy would be our cartographer. But it is just here that we need to be wary. The extension, for example, of the Roman Empire meant the extension of Roman roads; and it is in the highest degree improbable that the Roman road-makers would always follow the directions of travel of races whom they had subdued. They had a tendency to develop their own arterial system. Where, however, they ventured outside the Imperial limits, say to the north of the Danube, and went out on geographical quests, it is more likely than not that they followed through the forests and along the rivers the trail which had been consecrated by immemorial antiquity. Let us take an instance of this almost necessary conservatism. In the time of Nero, as Pliny tells us, a Roman knight was sent to the coast of Germany in quest of amber, of which he brought back an immense quantity, some pieces weighing as much as fourteen *librae*. The traveller was still alive in Pliny's day, and was no doubt the immediate source of his information. The important point for us is that the expedition started from Carnuntum⁵ on the Danube, and that it was 600 miles from thence to the German coast. Carnuntum, then, the modern Hainburg, is the point where the amber route enters the Roman Empire in the time of Nero. A crow flying due north from this point on the Danube would strike the Baltic not very far to the W. of Danzig. Now let us see what Ptolemy says about the route from Carnuntum to the Baltic.⁶ The whole of the region to the west of the Vistula is in Germany for Ptolemy, and, as Sadowski reminds us, it is a part of Germany never traversed by the Roman legions, so that Ptolemy's data was based upon the traditions of travellers, that is of merchants. The places which he notes, reckoning from S. to N., are Asanka, Badorgis, Carrodunum, Kalisia, Setidawa, Askaukalis and Skurgou. Of these Kalisia can be immediately identified; it is Kalisch in Poland. The others are the subject of much speculation by geographers and philologists, the main difficulty being the reduction of the latitudes and longitudes of Ptolemy to a modern system. Sadowski shows the right method of correcting the Ptolemaic measurements, and when his corrections are applied, the longitude of Kalisch is found to be exact to within a minute. Whether we can find modern towns or cities to match the rest of the Ptolemaic data is not so clear; but Askaukalis has been identified by Voigt with Osielsk near Bromberg, and here again Sadowski's corrections bring us to within a few minutes of the actual position. It will be noticed that we are again in the Bromberg district, and that archaeology and geography are reinforcing one

⁵ Hainburg to the east of Vienna.

⁶ See Ptolemy: ed. Müller, l. p. 287.

another. For the other stations we may suspend our judgment for the present.⁷

The foregoing summary is not intended to be an exhaustive presentation of the results that have been reached by the Polish and German investigators. We have merely tried to indicate the possible lines on which the amber trade might have moved in prehistoric times; our next inquiry relates to a matter which may possibly be connected with the amber routes, viz. the question as to the sacred way by which the gifts of the Hyperboreans were brought to the southern sanctuaries of the God Apollo.

CHAPTER II

APOLLO AND THE HYPERBOREANS

We come now to the question of the origin of the cult of Apollo, and the relation of that cult to Northern peoples, i.e. to peoples who may be described as Northern from the standpoint of Greek writers. Who was Apollo, and who were the Hyperboreans among whom he is said to have resided, and what are the gifts that were periodically sent him from his old-time clients? All sorts of replies have been made under each of these heads, and up to the present time there are only slight traces of agreements among the investigators. It may be said, however, that a consensus of opinion is almost reached that Apollo is not a Greek god at all, but a Northern migration or importation. He was not born in the island of Delos;⁸ he was not educated at the shrine of Delphi. The people who send him gifts are real people who have a genuine connexion with him: they have lost him, they have not forgotten him, they find him again by holy embassies and sacred gifts. Hence we must not evaporate the Hyperboreans into cloudland because they live at the back of the North Wind, nor locate them in the Milky Way because Hyper- might possibly mean over, and the Bora of Boreas might be old Slavonic for 'mountain.' They are honest ghosts that send these palpable presents; so the only problem is that of assigning a mountain range or ranges which should be between the Hyperboreans and their migrated deity.

These two problems, Who was Apollo? and Why was he a Hyperborean?, have attached to them a third as to the nature of the gifts which came such long distances over land and sea, carefully packed in straw, and hidden from the intruding eyes of all except those to whom they were sent. The box was labelled carefully, *Apollo, Delos*, and it was taboo.

⁷ Müller, in his edition of Ptolemy, questions the method by which Sadowski reduces the Ptolemaic latitudes and longitudes to modern measurements; but he agrees that Kalisia is Kalsich. In Ptolemy's map Ascanthalia is placed close to the Vistula, and on the western side.

⁸ So Herodotus affirms; 'The Delians add that once before there came to Delos by

the same road as Hyperoché and Laodice, two other maidens from the Hyperboreans, named Arge and Opis. Hyperoché and Laodice came to bring to Ilithyia the offerings they laid upon themselves, in acknowledgment of their quick labours; but Arge and Opis came at the same time as the gods of Delos.'—Herodotus, iv. 35.

So we have three series of speculations on the three problems referred to; and it all happened so very long ago that the most learned and inquisitive of the Greeks, from Herodotus down to Pausanias, could not have answered the question for us. Some said that Apollo had come from Thessaly, where he had been in banishment as bond-servant to King Admetus, and they remarked, what we will also keep in mind, that in Thessaly they called him *Aplun* ('Απλὺν). In that case the mountains were not so very far off, and the religious Hyperboreans would not have so very far to send their gifts; but it was not easy to equate Hyperborea with Thessaly.

Others had a tradition that Apollo had come from Paconia, away to the north of the Balkans, and that he had there learnt the medical art which he practised so successfully in Grecian lands.

Others, again, located the migrant god in some region old, where there were no doctors, and where people in consequence went on living and were named Macrobia from their gift of continuance—the Macrobes outwitting the Microbes. As to the gifts that came from the far-away Happy Land, Pausanias the inquisitive says no one knows what lay under the straw in which they were wrapped: only in modern times people have speculated with Frazer that they were the firstfruits⁹ of some remote harvest, or with Mannhardt that they were the portable remains of some harvest victim, or with Welcker that they were amber beads and trinkets, such as the god would surely love to possess. We shall presently discuss the passages in which Herodotus and Pausanias describe the transport of the sacred offerings.

As to Apollo himself, it is now fairly certain that he was not originally a sun god at all, but something much humbler; and there are two theories before scholars, one of which identifies the god with a black poplar, or a grove of sacred black poplars, much in the same way as a sky god could be identified with 'a thunder-smitten oak.' This is Mr. A. B. Cook's theory, based in the first instance upon the tradition that the earlier form of *Apollo* was *Apellon*, and that this was explained by Hesychius to mean a poplar. The other theory is my own, that Apollo is simply the apple tree with the sacred mistletoe upon it. It will be found worked out at length in the *Ascent of Olympus*,¹⁰ and there is no need to repeat here the various arguments (and may I say confirmations) for what may fairly be described as one of the most revolutionary speculations in Greek mythology. In passing we observe that if my theory be correct, it will be strange if apples did not find a place among the sacred gifts of the Hyperboreans; and it is within the bounds of possibility that the sacred apples on the altar at Delphi, which formed the prize in the Pythian games, might have been brought from the North. We shall be able later on to discuss the relative possibilities of the apple god and the black poplar god. Only we note, and this is very important, that Apollo must not go very far north if he is to be at once ancient in himself and a black poplar in his visible presentation. For the black poplar is not one of the Northern trees, and

⁹ Pliny says they were firstfruits carried by virgins.

¹⁰ Manchester University Press, reprinted from the *John Rylands' Library Bulletin*.

where it does occur in lands that may be called Hyperborean, it is a modern migration or importation.

Now let us see what Herodotus says about the sacred gifts that came to Delos in his day. He tells us (his information being derived from the priest at Delos) that the sacred things were brought by the Hyperboreans, wrapped in straw, to the Scythians, and that then they passed from tribe to tribe westward to the Adriatic; from thence they are carried south to Dodona, where they pass into Greek hands; from Dodona they are carried eastward again to the Malian Gulf, and so across to the island of Euboea, and from town to town to Karystos, the people of which town take them to Tenos (passing by Andros); and the people of Tenos take them to Delos.¹¹

This is a very roundabout pilgrimage, but some of the repetition and prolongation of the journey is due to an attempt to avoid mountain ranges. Mt. Cithaeron, for example, is avoided by crossing to Euboea, and working down to the most southerly point of the island at Karystos, where Andros is in sight and Delos close at hand.

The story which Pausanias gives shows much variation. He tells us that 'at Prasiai (on the coast of Attica) there is a temple of Apollo. Here the firstfruits of the Hyperboreans are said to come. The Hyperboreans, I am told, hand them over to the Arimaspians, and the Arimaspians to the Issedones; from thence the Scythians convey them to Sinope; thence they are borne by Hellenes to Prasiai; and it is the Athenians that bring them to Delos. These firstfruits, it is said, are hidden in wheaten straw, and no one knows what they are.'

Pausanias knows, however, that the offerings were of the nature of firstfruits; and his reference to the bringing of the offerings into Attica is at once explained by the fact that Athens had acquired suzerainty over Delos, so that a deflection of the route from Euboea would be natural. What surprises one is that the offerings are now brought across the Black Sea to Sinope (shall we say from Olbia?), and that from Sinope they pass coast-wise to the Bosphorus and so onwards. This is quite different from the route described by Herodotus. Yet it is so detailed that it can hardly be set aside, and, moreover, it makes the sacred route pass through Scythia to the Euxine along the amber way. It also puts the Hyperboreans further off, by interpolating two tribes between themselves and the Scythians. If, however, we say that in Pausanias' time the offerings came to Delos by the eastern amber road, it is equally clear that the offerings which Herodotus describes are being carried along the western amber way down to the Adriatic.

An explanation of the change of route was offered by Prof. Ridgeway and endorsed by Frazer in his notes on the passage in Pausanias.¹² We transcribe the latter: 'My friend, Prof. W. Ridgeway, has suggested to me an ingenious explanation of the wide difference between the two routes described by Herodotus and Pausanias. He has made it highly probable that from very remote ages there was a regular trade-route from the Black Sea up the

¹¹ Herodotus, iv. c. 33.

¹² Pausanias (tr. Frazer), ii. 405.

Danube, and across to the head of the Adriatic (*Origin of Metallic Currency*, p. 105 seq.). This route is the one indicated in the account which the Delians gave to Herodotus of the route by which the offerings came from Southern Russia to Delos. But with the establishment of Greek colonies in Southern Russia this long circuitous route would be exchanged for the direct one through the Bosphorus, the Hellespont and Aegean. This newer and shorter route appears to be the one indicated by Pausanias. He says, indeed, that the offerings came from Scythia (Russia) by way of Sinope, an important Greek colony situated on the southern shore of the Black Sea opposite to the Crimea. Now, though the shortest passage from Southern Russia to Greece would be, not by Sinope, but direct to the Bosphorus, it is quite possible that Greek sailors preferred to cross to Sinope and then coast along to the Bosphorus. They would thus have a shorter passage in the open sea, and would be able to do business at Sinope, which as a Milesian colony would naturally keep up commercial relations with its sister colonies on the northern shores of the Black Sea. When the Athenians acquired the suzerainty of Delos in the fifth century B.C., they would recast the old story of the Hyperborean offerings so as both to suit the changed conditions of trade and to make it appear that the offerings had always come by way of Attica. Thus, if Prof. Ridgeway's suggestion is right, Herodotus gives us the original Delian version of the story: Pausanias gives us the revised Athenian version of the fifth century B.C.²²

It seems to us that these explanations are far too subtle and inherently improbable. It is easy to see that a change of route might be desirable from Olbia, so as to coast along the south of the Euxine, and not around the western sea-board, but that is a mere detail. The improbability is in the suggestion that the offerings should go so far west, and again so far east, in order to reach Greece. Then there is the further difficulty that Delphi is apparently left unvisited and unhonoured, which, in view of the close connexion between Delphi and Delos, seems to us to be improbable. The suggestion, therefore, arises in our mind that it is Herodotus who has confused the matter, by making two trade-routes into one, and causing the eastern amber route to double back upon the western route by means of a supposed line of traffic up the Danube. We shall say, tentatively, that there are two sacred roads, one with Delos as its objective, the other Delphi.

In our next chapter we shall make some suggestions as to the way in which the stations on the sacred road can be identified.

CHAPTER III

THE APOLLO STATIONS

If we start from Delphi to work backwards along the sacred way²³ described in the previous chapter, we shall find that the track is landmarked

²² I have assumed that the gifts for Apollo were taboo, and it is interesting to note that Humboldt had suspected that the amber road of the Etruscans was also

recognised as a *Via Sacra*. See Kosmos, ii. 160, and Waldmann, *Der Bernstein im Altertum*, p. 43.

for us, sometimes by conical pillars, named Agyieus pillars, which were sacred to Apollo, and were directly connected with the Hyperboreans, because two of that tribe, Pagasus and *Agyieus*, had visited Delphi; and sometimes by the name of Apollo in adjectival form. For example, we come down from Delphi to the sea at the very beginning of our journey, and find ourselves at Apollonia. We work to the western coast and find ourselves at Apollonia again, a much more famous place, not far from where the Via Egnatia strikes the coast at Dyrrachium. We shall perhaps have passed two other Apollonia stations on the way, one in Acarnania, and one in Aetolia.

When we come near the head of the Adriatic we shall find another Apollonia in Illyria: so the trade-route is fairly made out. Mr. Cook and myself are in company thus far, and we now strike due north to the Danube, probably to Carnuntum, where he proposes to work up-stream towards the Elbe, and I propose to cross Hungary and make for the Carpathians. Apollo now appears to have failed us, but it is only in appearance. We are passing now into Slavonic territory, and we must look for the names in Slavonic form, and examine for survivals in modern geography. Whatever be the ultimate answer to the question, Who is Apollo? whether we call him a black poplar or an apple-tree, the form which he will take will be *jablon* or *jablan*; and a modern town named after such an original will be *jablonov* or *jablonsky*, or if it be an orchard of trees, *jablonitsa*, or if we want a diminutive formation it will be *jablonka*. We note in passing how close the form *jablon* is to the Thracian *Ἀπλον* for Apollo.

Now the first thing to be carefully noted is that the *Jablon* stations begin at the very point where the *Apollonia* stations fail us: this suggests that the series of stations on the sacred way is continued north. We notice on the map, a little to the south of Fiume (i.e. close to Aquileia), the name of Yablonatz. Is that accidental? Is it a modern name or a survival of an ancient name? Suppose we take it tentatively as belonging to the Apollo series, and continue our journey to the north from the head of the Adriatic. We are now certainly on one of the great trade-routes: it takes us across the Danube at Carnuntum, and if we continue the northward march through Austro-Hungary, we find ourselves before long face to face with the Carpathian mountains. We have to cross by one of the passes over the mountains. We notice that the principal passes reckoning from W. to E. are as follows: *Yablunka*, *Dukla*, *Rostok*, *Uzok*, *Verenkke*, *Dorna* and *Yablonitsa*. So there is an Apollo pass at each end of the range. We cross by the *Yablunka* and find a station of the same name on the other side: we are now at the head of the valleys which lead directly down the Oder and the Vistula respectively: the two rivers being very near together at their sources. Certainly we are now on the Northern trade-route to the Baltic.¹⁴

If, however, we had elected to cross Hungary at the N.E. angle, and had gone over the *Yablonitsa* Pass, we should have found a station of the

¹⁴ Sadiowski brings the trade-route over the mountains somewhat further west, if I understand him rightly.

same name, and from the head-waters of the Pruth have descended at once to the Dniester and been in close connexion with the trade-routes from the Black Sea to the Baltic.¹⁵

To return to the Yablunka Pass: we are now on the road taken by the Roman explorer in the time of Nero; Sadowski shows us that the line follows the Oder nearly to the modern Breslau, and that it then strikes across to Kalisch, and from thence makes its way through the marshes to the Vistula and so down-stream to Danzig, and we notice on the map on the right bank of the river at a little distance the name Yablonovo: so we say that we have found the last Apollo station before we actually reach the Baltic.

Is this mere conjecture and coincidence? Are they only apple towns that we have been passing through? Or, to please Mr. A. B. Cook, groves of black poplars? Certainly not the latter, for the black poplar does not grow so far north as the Baltic. Then they are either apple towns or towns which have attached to them the name of the apple god, just as we showed in our study of the *Origin of the Cult of Apollo* that in S.W. France, in the upper valleys of the Pyrenees they worshipped an apple god *Abellion*, whose name could be traced in various villages of the district.

We shall say then that the amber routes from the North are Apollo routes, marked by Apollo stations. That settles for us the question of the Hyperborean origin of Apollo: *he comes from the Baltic; the mountains beyond which his ancestral home lies are the Carpathians.*

If, however, the amber routes are Apollo routes, we cannot leave the matter there without further inquiry. We have found Apollo like a fly in the amber, but that still leaves us with Byron's problem: ¹⁶

" Like flies in amber, neither rich nor rare;
One wonders how the devil they got there."

We have marked the stations on the sacred way for the gifts to the god, and they are the stations of an almost sacred trade; but how are we to connect the god with his gifts, and with the much-coveted product of the northern sea? What has Apollo to do with amber? And if he is an apple god, what has amber to do with apples? Let us see whether we can answer these questions.

We learn from Apollonius Rhodius that the Kelts regarded amber as the tears of Apollo: here is the passage: the writer is describing how the maidens named Heliades wept amber over the fall of Phaethon, being themselves turned into black poplars, but the Keltoi say that the amber drops are the tears

¹⁵ Is it possible that this is Herodotus' route to the Adriatic?

¹⁶ Martial (iv. 32) suggests that the 'bee in amber' desired to die in its own nectar:

'Et latet et lucet Phaethontide condita gutta,

Ut videatur apis nectare clausa suo.
Dignum tantorum pretium tulit ille
laborem,
Credibile est ipsam sic voluisse mori.'

of Apollo himself, when he had been banished by Zeus to the land of the Hyperboreans :

Κέλτοισι δ' ἐπὶ βάξιν ἔθεντο
'Ὡς ἄρ' Ἀπόλλωνος τάδε δάκρυα Λητοῖδαο.

Argonautica, iv. 609, 610.

We have two different amber legends in this passage : one which distils amber from the poplar, the other from Apollo.

It may at once be said that this makes Apollo into a Keltic deity : in that case, we can write down his Keltic name : it is *Aballon* or *Abellon* (*Abelgon* in S.W. France) ; and, as is well known, *Aball* is the old Keltic for 'apple.' The suggestion at once arises that the Kelts must have been under the impression that amber was an exudation from the apple-tree. That makes all clear. Amber is Apollo, that is to say, his tears from his tree,¹⁷ and the sacred gifts which were, to Pausanias' time, so carefully concealed, may be naturally supposed to have been composed of amber and apples. And now for a confirmation from an unexpected quarter, of the connexion between the amber and the apple and the god.

When Pytheas, the explorer from Marseilles in the third century B.C., coasted round the shores of Western Europe, he found, either off the coast of Denmark or in the Baltic itself, an island upon whose shores the sea cast up amber. The natives used to collect it and use it for fuel, or else sell it to the neighbouring Teutonic tribes. The name of the island, according to Pytheas, as reported by Pliny (*H.N.*, xxxvii. 2), was *Abalus*. It is an unsettled matter whether Pytheas went only as far as Denmark, or whether he penetrated to the Baltic and reached the Vistula. One thing is clear, that *Abalus* is Keltic, and the island, whether one of the Frisian islands or in the Baltic itself, where the amber was found, bears the very name which we know to be Keltic for 'apple,' and which we suspect to be the origin of Apollo.

And if, as Apollonius Rhodius reports, the Keltic tribes called the amber by the name of Apollo's tears, we have the equation

amber—apple—Abal—Apollo.

Pliny advises us further that the island in question was called by the Romans *Glessaria*, because, no doubt, the name which the Germans gave to the amber was *glaesum*, the modern *glass*. The local tribes called it *Austeravia*, which has not been satisfactorily explained : is it *Ostroff*, or something of that kind ? That would have a decided Baltic flavour. If, however, we are to find an island in the North Sea, either amongst the Frisian islands or off the coast of Denmark, the most probable location would be an island off the Schleswig coast, which bears the name of Appelland,¹⁸

¹⁷ Shakespeare, in *Hamlet*, appears to connect 'amber and plum-tree gum,' and he also connects the exudation with tears : the old man's eyes purge amber and plum-tree gum.

¹⁸ So Waldmann : *Der Bernstein im Altertum*, who also suggests a neighbouring island named Habel. The coast and the configuration of the adjacent islands have probably changed a good deal.

and would have *Abal-land* for its earlier form. From this point, too, the product collected could be transferred at once to the mouth of the Elbe, and carried along the Elbe-Danube trade-route. This is a speculative solution of the problem of Pytheas. What is reasonably certain is that the explorers and merchants in the North Sea went to an island called Abal to get amber. And Abal, as we have shown in the *Ascent of Olympus*, is Apollo.

CHAPTER IV

ON A POSSIBLE THIRD AMBER ROUTE FROM THE LAND OF THE HYPERBOREANS INTO GREECE

WE have learnt from Herodotus and Pausanias something about the roads along which the gifts sent by the Hyperboreans to Apollo were transmitted to Delphi and Delos, and were able to infer that the routes indicated were probably those along which the amber of antiquity came to the Black Sea and the head of the Adriatic. The terminus on the Black Sea is commonly held to be in the neighbourhood of Olbia or of the mouth of the Dnieper, though Genthe throws some doubt on this, on the ground that amber has not been found in the graves of the Crimea, and because the Dnieper has its course interrupted as a navigable stream by rapids. Accordingly he ventures to correct the text of Herodotus¹⁹ as to the distance to which the Greek traders penetrated into Scythia, on the ground that Herodotus made a prolonged stay on the northern shore of the Black Sea, and was hardly likely to be misinformed as to trade possibilities. He would have known of the obstacles to navigation, and, according to Genthe, would have regarded them as final.

The head of the Adriatic is what may be called a centre of distribution for amber; it is from this neighbourhood that the settlers in the valley of the Po, and further south, the Etruscans, were supplied, and it is reasonable to believe that similar merchandise went on down an ancient trade-route, such as that suggested by Pausanias, on the eastern shore of the Adriatic.

We come now to an important suggestion of a third trade-route from Illyria through the Balkans to the Aegean. Genthe's observations on the discoveries of Greek coins of Athens, Thasos, Apollonia and Neapolis on a line from the Danube through Serbia, suggested to him the existence of trade-routes from the Danube through the Balkans, following the course of the Vardar (Axius) to Thessalonica, and of the Struma (Strymon) to Amphipolis. It was natural to conclude, from the close proximity of Amphipolis, Apollonia and Neapolis to one another, and the adjacency of the island of Thasos, that we really have the lower terminus of a trade-route indicated.

¹⁹ In der Stelle des 4. Buches des Herodot, wo die handschriftliche Uebersetzung angibt, dass Griechen 40 Tagoreisen aufwärts den Borysthenes (Dnjepr) zu befahren pflegten, muss 40 in 14 geändert

werden. — *Verhandlung der 39 Philologen-Versammlung in Karlsruhe*, p. 27.

Rapids in a river are not a serious obstacle, as may be seen by portages on Canadian trade-routes.

If, however, the existence of such a trade-route, within the confines of the Balkan peninsula, be established on probable grounds, two other points of importance will come into view: first, that the trade-route in question was one that passed in the neighbourhood of deposits of amber; second, that it was an Apollo route in the sense of the trade-routes described by Herodotus and Pausanias.

The existence of amber in Serbia in the graves of palaeolithic people has been demonstrated by the excavation of pile-dwellings on the banks of the Save at Donja Dolina. A reference to Mr. Robert Munro's *Palaeolithic Man and Terramar Settlements in Europe*²⁰ will show the kind of relics that were found buried with the incinerated remains of the inhabitants of these ancient dwellings. We are told that 'a few urn-burials were encountered in these underground vaults, which contained the incinerated remains of bodies, charcoal, ashes, and an extraordinary wealth of grave-goods, but unfortunately the latter had been greatly damaged by the fire. It would appear from the valuable nature of the grave-goods that the cremated persons were of great social distinction. The objects consisted of fibulae, spiral bracelets, beads of glass, amber and enamel, and other ornamental articles characteristic of the late Hallstatt period. Of special interest was one urn which contained a necklet composed of several hundreds of beads of amber, enamel, coloured glass, seven cowrie shells, two perforated teeth, and a large bead of clay without any ornamentation.'

So much for the existence of amber on the banks of the Save. Mr. Munro suggests an actual dating for the Donja Dolina remains, by pointing out that 'among the relics which indicate the probable date of the settlement were five coins, one of bronze and the others of potin, all barbarous imitations of the tetradrachms of Philip of Macedon.' He adds further²¹ that the structure of the dwellings furnishes 'strong evidence in support of the hypothesis that their constructors were a branch from the Danubian flow of Lake-dwellers into Europe, who found their way into Bosnian land by ascending the tributaries of the Save.'²²

We may trace the amber trade, then, through Bosnia at the period suggested. What we want now is some further indications of its use in the Balkan area. A few more dots on our map of amber localities would do much to work out the new trade-route. Was it also an Apollo route? The analogy with other sacred routes whose destination was Apolline makes it highly probable that the Aegean Apollonia is another case of a halting-place on a sacred way. We must not generalise too hastily, but it certainly looks significant that so many of the Apollo towns can be located on lines of pilgrimage to Delphi or Delos. Without being unduly dogmatic, we may suggest that there was a third route for the gifts and the Temples of Apollo which passed through the Balkans from the Danube, and, after following the line of one

²⁰ P. 473.

²¹ P. 475.

²² For these dwellings see also Trautman,

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Pfahlbau im Savetale, etc., 1904, and *Der Pfahlbau von Donja Dolina*, 1904.

of the rivers in Thrace, reached the sea at Apollonia, whose coins have been found as indicated above, scattered along this region.

Whether there are two sacred routes of Apollo, or, as we believe, three, it is clear that as they have practically the same terminus, either at Delos or Delphi, they must also have the same starting-point in the Hyperborean land. It is not to be thought that one expedition came up the Vistula from the Baltic and another up the Elbe from the North Sea. The singularity of the gifts, with their peculiar taboo, shows that *they emanate from a centre as well as reach a destination*. There are not two Apollos honoured in two different Hyperborean locations, whose worshippers are sending two sets of independent gifts. Consequently, if we are discussing the sacred roads from Hyperborea to Delos, we must not go up the Danube to the sources of the Elbe; we must cross the Danube to meet the other trade-route that comes up from the Black Sea. It is morally certain that the place where the Danube is crossed is at Carnuntum, and that from thence we go north and cross the Carpathians, where all the great migrations appear to have crossed, near the sources of the Oder and Vistula. If this route is to meet the one that comes up from the Black Sea via the Dnieper to the Vistula, it seems likely that Hyperborea where they combine is somewhere in the Baltic area not far from Danzig.

RENDEL HARRIS.

ATHENS AND HESTIAEA; NOTES ON TWO ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS

I. AMONG the Attic inscriptions of the fifth century which require further study are two fragments with *στοιχηδόν* lettering of date 450-425 B.C. These were printed separately in the original *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, but were brought together in the second edition and partly closed up with restorations so as to form the nucleus of a running text.¹ The fuller restoration of the more legible parts given below is highly problematical, for the left edge of the two stones has been broken off completely, so that the number of missing letters at the beginning of each line cannot be ascertained. Fortunately the key words of the text have survived in the extant portions, and these at least give the clue to its general sense, though the details may remain uncertain.

- L. 17. . . . 'Αθήνε[σιν. καὶ τὰς τ]άχσας ε
 „ 18. [ναὶ τῶν ἐν ἡστυαίαι οἰκόντων καθῆαπερ] τῶν 'Αθη[ναίων]. εἰάν τις
 ἀμφι-
 „ 19. [σβετέῃ, ἐσαγὲν τὸς ἐσαγογέας, ἡόταμπερ] τὰς ἄλλας δ[ίκας] τὰς
 ἐχς ἡεστ-
 „ 20. [ιαίας, ἡύπαντι δὲ καὶ τοῖ βολομένοι χρ]έματα εἶ[ν]αι ἐπ[ιδόν]αι
 δορεῖάν δ-
 „ 21. [ιὰ τὰς πρὸς τὸ δεμόσιον δαπάνας. καὶ] ἀτελὲ εἶναι με[δὲ ἡέ]να
 χρεμάτων
 „ 22. [εἰσφορὰς, πλὴν εἰάν περὶ τινος δοχασέ]τε κυρίαι ἐκ[κλησία]ι με
 ἐλαττ[ο]
 „ 23. [ῥαχ κρύβδην φσεφισαμένον. περὶ] δὲ χρεμάτων εἰσφορὰς με εἶ[ν]αι
 ἐπιφσε-
 „ 24. [φίξεν, με τὴν ἄδειαν φσεφισαμένον, εἰάμ με λειστὸν [ἡένεκα
 χ]συλλεφσε-
 „ 25. [ὅς . . .

The reading ἐξ 'Εστυαίας in ll. 19-20, which replaces ἐξ ἡστινος in the second edition of the *Corpus*, may be regarded as certain. In contrast with 'Αθήνησιν in ll. 17 and 18 we require the name of some town under the political control of Athens. Hestiaeae alone fulfils the conditions. The purpose of our document, therefore, was to regulate the relations of Hestiaeae with Athens.

The general character of these regulations is made clear by the words *χρημάτων* and *εἰσφορὰς* in ll. 21 and 23, which show that rules were laid down in our text for the levy of a property tax at Hestiaeae. From the same words an upper limit for the date of the inscription may be inferred. The institution of *εἰσφορά* at Hestiaeae can hardly have preceded the application of the same tax at Athens. Now the first actual levy of *εἰσφορά* at Athens took place

¹ I.G. i. 25, and Supplement, p. 11.

in 427 B.C.² The rules for making this levy were probably drawn up in the same year, and at all events are not likely to have existed before 435 B.C., for previous to this date the Athenians had no reason to anticipate the need of an *εἰσφορά*, and their financial house was not put into order until then.³ The *terminus post quem* of our text, therefore, is 427 or, at earliest, 435 B.C. The *terminus ante quem* is supplied by the letter forms, which can hardly be later than 420 B.C. The inscription, therefore, may confidently be dated to the earlier years of the Peloponnesian War.

The importance of our text lies chiefly in the light which it throws upon the financial status of the Athenian cleruchies in the fifth century. Some fifty years ago Kirchhoff inferred from the usual absence of the names of cleruchies on the Attic tribute lists that these settlements were exempt from the *φόρος* or regular tribute which the subject-allies paid,⁴ and it is now generally admitted that this was at least the general rule. But this raises the question, were they as a set-off liable to the *εἰσφορά* or occasional levy which the Athenians themselves paid? To this question the only answer given hitherto was drawn from a passage in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Oeconomica*, in which an *εἰσφορά* at Potidaea is mentioned.⁵ But this passage probably relates to the fourth-century cleruchy in that town. Our present text, therefore, affords the first clear proof that cleruchs paid *εἰσφορά* in the fifth century. The following points of detail deserve comment.

Ll. 17-18. *τὰς δὲ τάξεις εἶναι τῶν ἐν Ἑστιαίᾳ οἰκούντων καθάπερ τῶν Ἀθηναίων*.—The problem here is to decide between the readings *τάξεις* and *πράξεις*, as given in the first and second editions of the Corpus respectively. In favour of *πράξεις* we may quote a similar expression from a cognate inscription: *αἱ δὲ πράξεις ὄντων [καθάπερ] Ἀθήνησιν αἱ παρὰ τῶν δικαστηρίων*.⁶ But the next clause of our text, which deals with the hearing of contested claims, gives support to *τάξεις*. The proper time for examining taxpayers' grievances is after assessment rather than after the sending out of demand notes; and that this natural order of procedure was followed by the Athenians is shown by their regulations for the assessment of *φόρος* in 425 B.C.; a *δικαστήριον* is here provided to adjudicate on *τάξεις*, not *πράξεις*.⁷

The method of assessing *εἰσφορά* at Athens in the fifth century is uncertain; therefore nothing can be said about the procedure prescribed for Hestiaeae.

Ll. 18-20. *εἰάν τις ἀμφισβητῇ, εἰσάγειν τοὺς εἰσαγωγαίᾳς ὅταν περ τὰς ἑλλας δίκας τὰς ἐξ Ἑστιαίας*.—For the *εἰσαγωγαίᾳς*, cf. *I.G.* i. 37, l. 7. But this reading remains conjectural. On the other hand, it is clear that this clause prescribed the hearing of fiscal suits from Hestiaeae at Athens. The transference of jurisdiction from the other towns of the Athenian empire to the

² Thucydides, iii. 19. The *εἰσφορά* paid by the Athenians under the Peisistratids is here left out of account by Thucydides, and rightly so.

³ I here assume that the 'Callias decree' (*I.G.* i. 32) belongs to 435 B.C. (see G. H. Stevenson, *J.H.S.* 1924, p. 1 *seq.*). If it belongs to 420-418 B.C., 427 B.C. may be

taken as an absolute *terminus post quem* for our text.

⁴ *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie*, 1873.

⁵ Ch. 6.

⁶ *I.G.* i. 29, ll. 6-8. (See the second part of this article.)

⁷ *I.G.* i. 37, ll. 40-42.

capital is too well known to call for further notice; but this particular case contains a point of interest, for it suggests that the rough-and-ready adjustment of taxpayers' claims by the method of *ἀντίδοσις* had not yet been invented in the early days of the Peloponnesian War. This inference stands in accord with our data from literary texts, for *ἀντίδοσις* is not mentioned by any author previous to Lysias.*

Ll. 20. *ἅπαντι δὲ καὶ τῷ βουλευμένῳ χρήματα εἶναι ἐπιδόουσι δωρεῖάν.*
—The last word alone is certain, but it suffices to establish the general sense of this clause. *ἐπιδόσεις* were a common expedient of city-state finance in the fourth and third centuries B.C., but the only instances from the fifth century are found in the present text and in an inscription from Sparta of the same date.[†] It is not unlikely that organised *ἐπιδόσεις* were a product of the Peloponnesian War.

Ll. 21-3. *καὶ ἀτελῇ εἶναι μηδένα χρημάτων ἐσφορᾶς, πλὴν ἔαν περί τινος δόξη τῇ κυρίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ μὴ ἐλάττω ἢ χ κρύβδην ψηφισαμένων.*
—The first four words give the clue to the meaning of this clause, which clearly made a general rule against exemptions from *ἐσφορά*. The practice here prescribed probably differed from that of Athens, where the entire class of *θῆτες* seems to have been exempt. But the distinction is more apparent than real, for in a cleruchy composed of landowners the number of citizens below zeugite census would presumably be quite negligible.

The *κυρία ἐκκλησία* mentioned in the next line can hardly have had any other function in this context except to confer special exemptions from the tax. Is this the *ἐκκλησία* of Athens or of Hestiaeae? In the passage from the *Oeconomica* previously quoted we find the Potidaeans making their own arrangements for a levy. But it would be unsafe to argue from the practice of the fourth century to that of the fifth, and Potidaea was a more distant colony than Hestiaeae. In an Attic inscription, where the context does not clearly prove the contrary, 'ἡ ἐκκλησία' may be safely taken to stand for the Athenian assembly, and still more so 'ἡ κυρία ἐκκλησία,' for the distinction between *κύρια ἐκκλησία* and others cannot be traced in the Athenian colonies. If the function of the *ἐκκλησία* in our text was to grant immunities to individuals, we should expect to find the usual Athenian rule as to a quorum and a secret ballot in cases of *ψηφίσματα ἐν ἀνδρῶν*. For the restoration given above of the statute quoted in Andocides, I. 87, 'ἔαν μὴ ἑξακισχιλίους δόξη κρύβδην ψηφισομένων,' and Philochorus fr. 79b, 'διαριθμηθέντων μὴ ἐλάττω ἑξακισχιλίων.'

Ll. 23-5. *περὶ δὲ χρημάτων ἐσφορᾶς μὴ εἶναι ἐπιψηφίζεῖν, μὴ τὴν ἄδειαν ψηφισαμένων, ἑὰμ μὴ ληστῶν ἔνεκα ξυλλήψεως.*—The restoration of this clause is based on a similar clause in the 'Callias decree' (ll. 45-8): 'ἐς ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν χρῆσθαι τοῖς χρήμασιν, ἔαν μὴ τὴν ἄδειαν ψηφίσῃται ὁ δῆμος . . . ἔαν δέ τις εἴπῃ ἡ ἐπιψηφίσις μὴ ἐψηφισμένης πῶ τῆς ἄδειας . . .'

* 24, § 9.

† *I.O.* v. 1. The editor, W. Kolbe, shows that the date of this text falls between 428-1 B.C. It may be suggested that the date is exactly 428 B.C., for the contributors

to the Spartan war-chest include the Melians and a party of Chians, who would hardly have opened their purses except in the year of the revolt of Mitylene.

But the main point of interest, as in the preceding clauses, lies in the certain rather than in the conjectural portion of the text. The Hestiaeans, as this passage clearly shows, were concerned with the capture of pirates or privateers. This bears out a statement in Thucydides, that in 431 B.C. the Athenians occupied the islet of Atalante in the Euboean channel with a view to checking privateers from Locrian Opus.¹⁰

II. The inscription which we have just discussed may be regarded as a pendant to a somewhat better known Attic document which also has letter-forms of the 450-425 B.C. period and undoubtedly relates to Hestiaeae.¹¹ Although this latter inscription has been put to occasional use by historians, it has not yet been exploited systematically. The extreme curtness of its style and the fragmentary condition of the text makes its interpretation extremely difficult. A full restoration has, however, been offered of late by Hiller v. Gärtringen,¹² thanks to which the general purport of the inscription is now clear. His text runs as follows:—

A. 1.	B. ελι ?[h]ο ηεγ[εμῶν]
2. τοσ ἡο ελ[αυνόμενος ἡο μέ τῶις π.]	[. Αθῆναζε] ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον [ἐγ δε-]
3. [λέο]σι δόχοας τὰς [γῆας ἔχεν. δ δ' ἂν τοῖς π.]	[καστερίο τ]ὸ ἔχσ ηεστιαίας ἐσάγει τὰ[ς δ-]
4. [λέο]σι δοκεῖ ἐπὶ ἴσε[ι καὶ ἡομοίαι, καθ']	[ίκας, καὶ ε]ν τοῦ αὐτοῖ μενὶ ἡοι ναυτοδ[ί-]
5. [h]ὸ ἂν δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς, με[τεχέτο. ἐὰν δέ μέ-]	[καὶ μὲν τ]ὸ δικαστήριον παρεχόν- τον πλ-
6. [μ]φσεται ἐπὶ τῆσι δίκη[σι, προσερχέσθ-]	[ἔρες, εἰ εὐ]θυνέσθο(ν), ἡοι δέ πράχσες ὄντων
7. [ο] ἡο ἔχσ ηεστιαίας ἐς τ[ὲν βολέν τὲν ἐν]	[καθῆυπε]ρ Ἀθῆναισι ἡαι παρὰ τῶν δικαστ-
8. [h]εστιαίαι, ἡόταμπερ τὰ[ς ἄλλας δίκας]	[ερίον βια]ίων καὶ ἀδικεμάτων τὰς δίκ[α-]
9. [h]εστιαί[ας] πρὸς ἀλλήλο[ς διδόσιν. ἐὰν δ-]	[ς ἐὰν, (ἐὰν) ηε]προθεσμία ἔχσέκει ἐὰν δέ τι[ς ἄ-]
10. [ε] μὴ παρ[ὰ] τῆς βολῆς εὐρ[ίσκεται τὰς χό-]	[γει, δέσθο] ἡο ἡαλός. ηεστιαίας ἡέος προ-
11. [ρ]ας, εἰ τ[ὸν] ελ[αύνοντα μέ πείθει εἰ βοσιν]	[ς τριάκον]τα ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν οἰκόν- των ε[ν]
12. εἰ ἡύ[ποις] εἰ ὄνοις εἰ οἰσ[ί, ἀπελάνέσθο,]	[ηεστιαία]ι δοῖναι τὰς εὐθύνας ἐν ἡεατ[ί-]
13. [γ]ραφ[έσθο δ]ε ἡο βολόμε[νος ἡο ἔχσ ηεστ-]	αἰαπόλει ?] τεῖ ἐν ηε[στ]ιαίαι. διδόντο[ν ἄ-]
14. [ι]αίας [καὶ] λαμβάνετο τ[ὸ τιμέματος το-]	[νδρας κατ]ὰ δέμος ἐν [h]εστιαίαι τρί[αχο-]

¹⁰ II. 32.

¹¹ I.G. i. 28-9 and Suppl.; *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, No. 4.

¹² *Göttinger Nachrichten*, philologisch-historische Klasse, 1921, pp. 62-63

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|--|---|
| „ 15. [ύ]το τὸ [τρι]τόμερος. τε[λέτο
ἐς τὸ βολεῦ-] | [ντα, δῶναι]· δὲ τὸς αὐτὸς καὶ ἐν
Δίῳ[ι, δῶτα-] |
| „ 16. [τ]έριον, ἡτάμπερ τὰς δ[ίκας
δικάζει ἡ-] | [ι δὲ καὶ ἐν] 'Ελλοπία[ι]· ἡ[έτερον
δι[καστέρ-] |
| „ 17. [ο] δῆμος, ἐ ἡ ἀρχον ζε[μιάτο.
ἡοι ἀρχοντε-] | [ιον, ἐπεὶ 'Ελ]λοπίοι [ἡοι], ἐν
'Ελλοπίαι αἵ[τ-] |
| „ 18. [ς] ἡοι 'Αθένεσιν γραφέ[σθον
αὐτὸν, ἡτάμ-] | [ῶσιν ἡόπος] ἡο ἀρχον ἡο 'Αθένεσι
δ[οῖ αὐτ-] |
| „ 19. [π]ερ τὰς ἄλλας δίκας ρ[. . .
ἐάν τις ἐκ χ-] | [οῖς ἐν ἡεστι]αίαι, κυαμευσάντων
[δικα-] |
| „ 20. [α]λκίδος ἐς 'Οροπὸν πλ[έει,
ὀβολόν, ἐάν δ-] | [στας ἐν ἡεστι]αίαι, καθότι ἂν τοῖ
δ[έμο] |
| „ 21. ἐ τις ἐχς 'Οροπὸ ἐ[ς] ἡεσ[τι-
αίαν, τὸ μὲν κά-] | [ι ἄχσιον δοκεῖ, ἐ]κ τὸν οἰκόντων
ἐ[ν ἡεσ-] |
| „ 22. [τ] 'Οροπὸν πόρο με[δ]έν
πρ[αττέσθω, ἐάν δ-] | [τιαίαι] |
| „ 23. ἐ τις ἐκ χαλ[κ]ίδος ἐς ἡεσ[τι-
αίαν, πρatt-] | |
| „ 24. [έ]σθω τέτταρας ὀβολός. [ἐάν
δὲ πλέοσι] | |
| „ 25. [ν]μὲν ἡοι πομπεύοντε[ς, αὐτὸς
δὲ μὲ πομ-] | |
| „ 26. [π]εύεται, τελέτο τὸ ἡ[έμωσιν.
ἐάν δὲ τις μ-] | |
| „ 27. [έ] θέλει ἄγειν τὸν π[λέοντα
κατὰ τὰ γεγ-] | |
| „ 28. [ρα]μμένα | |

The inscription, as Hiller v. Gärtringen has pointed out, probably consists of three or four separate decrees, but all of these deal with the same general situation. Their main purpose evidently was to regulate judicial procedure at Hestiaeae and to compose existing disputes between two contending parties. The general nature of the disputes is made clear by the phrases *ὁ ἐλαυνόμενος* (A, l. 2), *τὸν ἐλαύνοντα* (A, l. 11), *βουσίη ἢ ἵπποις ἢ ὄνοις ἢ οἰσί* (A, ll. 11-12), *βιαιῶν καὶ ἡδικημάτων* (B, l. 8), which show that there were various claimants to the land at Hestiaeae. The puzzle is to discover the parties at issue.

The most ready-to-hand solution is that the contest lay between the natives of Hestiaeae and the incoming Athenian settlers. A conflict of this nature is recorded in an almost contemporary inscription from Mitylene;¹² and the terminology of our text, which appears to discriminate between *οἱ ἐξ 'Εστιαίας* (A, ll. 7, 13-14) and *οἱ οἰκοῦντες ἐν 'Εστιαία* (B, ll. 11-12), seems to imply a cleavage between groups of native and of Athenian possessors. Accordingly, Hiller v. Gärtringen has assumed that our inscription records a settlement which the Athenian *ἐκκλησία* imposed upon the cleruchs and the native Hestiaeans. But this explanation is open to several objections:—

¹² *I.G. i. Suppl. p. 22, No. 96.*

(1) The distinction between *οἱ οἰκοῦντες ἐν Ἑστιαίᾳ* and *οἱ ἐξ Ἑστιαίας* is illusory, for as a matter of fact these expressions are synonyms, both being used to denote the cleruchs.¹⁴

(2) According to our literary authorities the natives of Hestiaea were driven out *en masse* to make room for the cleruchs.¹⁵

(3) In the tribute lists Hestiaea disappears completely after 447 B.C., thus offering a striking contrast with the other six communities of Euboea, all of which figure on the lists between 444 and 425 B.C.¹⁶ The reason for this can only be that in the other six towns there remained a native population to pay tribute, but not in Hestiaea.

The natives of Hestiaea must therefore be ruled out. An alternative explanation is that the conflict arose out of a borderland dispute between the cleruchs and the natives of the adjacent districts, and this suggestion derives support from the mention of the people of Dium and Ellopia in B, II. 15-17. But if these were parties to the case, it is strange that there should be no reference to them in A, II. 2-17, where the details of the case are discussed most fully. It is stranger still that in B, II. 16-19 the Ellopians are stated to have applied for a court in Hestiaea to assume jurisdiction over them, if the Hestiaeans were their antagonists and oppressors.

It appears then that the case did not involve any of the Euboean natives. Consequently it must have been an internal dispute between two groups of cleruchs. At first sight this may seem an unlikely conclusion, for one would expect the assignation of lands in a new cleruchy to be so conducted as to prevent an overlap of claims, and in the contemporaneous settlement at Brea we have direct evidence of *γεωρῳποι* being sent out to distribute the land according to a regular system.¹⁷ Nevertheless it was still possible for disputes to arise, particularly if the settlers did not all take up their lands simultaneously, for in this case it would lie in the power of the earlier comers to 'jump' the claims of the laggards: indeed a conflict of this kind actually broke out between two groups of colonists at Sybaris.¹⁸ We do not know whether Hestiaea received its cleruchs by instalments: but it is noteworthy that there is a discrepancy among ancient writers as to the numbers of the colonists, which are variously given as 1000 and 2000¹⁹; the most natural explanation of this difference is that the cleruchs went out in two successive drafts of 1000 each. On the whole, therefore, the theory that the issue lay between two conflicting groups of Athenian settlers seems the least open to objection.

The procedure laid down for the settlement of the dispute is still far from clear, owing to difficulties both of reading and of interpretation, and I shall not

¹⁴ Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Philologische Untersuchungen*, I, p. 23 n.

¹⁵ Thuc. I. 114; Diod. XII. 7 and 22; Plutarch, *Pericles*, ch. 23 (*ἐκτανῖν κίερας ἀμετρίως*); Theopompus, fr. 347, ed. Grenfell and Hunt (the Hestiaeans emigrate to Macedonia).

¹⁶ See the lists in Pedroll, *Studi di Storia*

Antica, vol. I, pp. 118-16.

¹⁷ *I.G.* I. 31.

¹⁸ Aristotle, *Politics*, 1303 a, 31. In this case the cleavage lay between the descendants of the former inhabitants of Sybaris and the Athenian settlers.

¹⁹ Diodorus, XII. 22, gives 1000; Theopompus, *loc. cit.*, says 2000.

attempt to discuss it here. I shall confine myself to two further points of special constitutional interest.

(1) In A, II. 5-12 the *βουλή* of Hestiaeā appears to be charged with the duty of hearing appeals in civil suits. If this interpretation is correct, its judicial functions differed materially from those of the parent *βουλή* at Athens, for the Athenian *βουλή* was exclusively a criminal court.²⁰

(2) The *δικασταὶ κατὰ δῆμους* instituted in B, I. 13 *sqq.* are of the same number as the similar board of judges in Attica.²¹ But it is a peculiar feature of the two boards appointed at Hestiaeā that their jurisdiction extended to others than cleruchs. This arrangement constituted a wider encroachment on the autonomy of Athens' allies than the universal practice of transferring the hearing of the more important cases only to Athens: indeed it must have left the allies thus encroached upon with hardly any judicial competence. Of the two communities thus subjected to the tribunals of the cleruchs, the Ellopians actually asked to be put under this control (B, II. 17-19). As these people never figure on the tribute lists, we may infer that they had been financially under the control of the Hestiaeans.²² If we go a step further and assume that their jurisdiction had likewise been surrendered to the Hestiaeans, we obtain a reason for their application to Athens: after the expulsion of the Hestiaeans the Ellopians were left without a court, and being unable to improvise one of their own they asked the Athenians to help them out. On the other hand, the people of Diium appear on the tribute lists both before and after 445 B.C. They were therefore not subject to Hestiaeā, and presumably they enjoyed judicial as well as financial autonomy. As the inscription says nothing of an application on their part to be tried in an Athenian court, it appears as if the Athenians had deprived them of jurisdiction as a punishment for rebellion. In any case, the clause relative to the *δικασταὶ κατὰ δῆμους* shed fresh light on the administration of justice in the Athenian Empire.

M. CARY.

[*Postscript.*—Since the above was written the inscriptions in question have been republished by Hiller v. Gärtringen in Vol. I. of the *Editio Minor* of the *Corpus Inscriptionum* (I.G. I.² 40-41 and 42).

The text of the shorter inscription has been restored on the basis of 47 letters to the line, as against 55 letters in the reconstruction given above. Either assumption is equally good or bad. The most notable differences in restoration occur in ll. 21-25, which Hiller v. Gärtringen completes as follows:—

- L. 21. χρημάτων δ' ἐσφορᾶς ἀτελῇ εἶναι μηδένα. χρημάτων
 „ 22. ἐσφορὰν εἶναι Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ κυρίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ μὴ ἔλαττο-
 „ 23. ν ἢ ἑκατὸν δραχμῶν. τῆς δὲ χρημάτων ἐσφορᾶς μὴ εἶναι ἐπιφη-
 „ 24. φέζειν ἀφείναι τινα αὐτῶν. εἰ μὴ ληστῶν ἢ φωρῶν ξυλλήψε-
 „ 25. ως ἢ ἀγαθοῦ παραίτιος τις αὐτῶν ἄλλου ᾗ.

²⁰ *Ad. Pol.* ch. 45.

²¹ *Ibid.* 26, § 3, 53, § 1.

²² Herodotus (viii. 23) uses the terms Ἑλλοπία *πολις* and χῆ Ἑρριαιῶν as if they were synonymous. But the Ellopiian land

comprised all northern Euboea (Geyer, *Topographie und Geschichte der Insel Euboea*, p. 84). We may infer that the Ellopians were, legally speaking, *perioeci* of the Hestiaeans.

I am not sure whether ll. 21-3 are meant to be taken literally: 'there shall be at Athens in the *κυρία ἐκκλησία* a levy of not less than 100 drachmas (in the talent, i.e. $1\frac{2}{3}$ per cent.).' If so, this clause seems out of place. Instead of being embedded in the middle of the text among various regulations of detail, one would expect it to stand at the head of the document. The expression 'not less than $1\frac{2}{3}$ per cent.' also causes difficulty. In a clause which categorically states that there shall be an *εἰσφορά* one would expect its rate to be defined exactly.

The sense of the passage might be saved if we could translate 'levies exceeding a rate of $1\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. shall only be imposed at Athens in the *κυρία ἐκκλησία*.' But this implies rather worse drafting than one cares to assume.

Ll. 23-5, while offering a satisfactory sense, also seem to require a different wording. Does *αὐτῶν* resume *χρημάτων*, or refer to the taxpayers? In either case it is a stumbling-stone.

These difficulties emphasise the conjectural character of any restoration. Fortunately the two main inferences from the inscription, that Hestiaeae was plagued with privateers and property-tax, stand beyond the range of doubt.

The text of the longer inscription has been altered or amplified at several points, as compared with Hiller v. Gärtringen's previous version. But none of these changes affect the argument of the present article.—M. C.]

THE EARLY LIFE OF JULIAN THE APOSTATE

SUPPOSE that you are writing a highly eulogistic obituary notice of a well-known statesman who has recently died, and suppose further that you wish to suppress all reference to one period in that statesman's life which lasted for six years, how are you going to proceed? It is clearly a ticklish matter. But if your hero left X at the beginning of that period of six years to go to Y, and then at its close returned from Y to X, it might be possible to telescope the two residences at X into a single visit, and to cover your suppression of the six years' absence by a discreet lack of definition in your chronological statements. If you are successful, others may follow your lead, and centuries later your evasions may escape the notice of the historical student. I would suggest that this is precisely what has happened in the case of the *ἐπιτάφιος λόγος* of Libanius upon his hero Julian the Apostate. Libanius suppressed all reference to the six years of Julian's banishment to Macellum; Julian as a boy of ten or eleven was at Constantinople: from Constantinople he was sent to Macellum in Cappadocia by Constantius: from Macellum, as a youth of seventeen, he returned to Constantinople. Libanius has telescoped into one these two residences in the capital. Socrates, writing in the following century the history of Julian's early years, has composed his chapter with the *ἐπιτάφιος λόγος* of Libanius before him, and has naturally followed the account of Julian's friend and contemporary. The story told alike by Christian and by Pagan has been accepted by modern writers. But Sozomen, engaged upon his history after the publication of the work of Socrates, followed an independent authority, and thus enables us to reconstruct the true chronology and to detect the artifice which imposed upon his predecessor. That is the thesis which I would seek to justify in this note.

At present it would seem that the chronological scheme of Julian's early years proposed by Seeck bids fair to be generally accepted: it has, for instance, been adopted by Geffcken in his biography of Julian.¹ That scheme may be tabulated as follows:—

Julian's birth at Constantinople.

Early in 338: Murder of his father and removal to Nicomedia.

About 342: He moves to Constantinople, where he begins his studies.

344: Returns to Nicomedia, and—

345: Is banished to Fundus Macelli.

In a review of the fourth volume of Seeck's *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt* (1911) I endeavoured (in 1912) to show that his reconstruction

¹ Johannes Geffcken: *Kaiser Julianus* (= *Das Erbe der Alten* Heft viii.), Leipzig, 1914, p. 125.

of the chronology was impossible (*English Historical Review*, xxvii. pp. 755-760); that negative argument may be assumed here, and we can pass at once to the positive reconstruction.²

Julian, it would seem, was born in A.D. 331;³ until the massacre of his relatives by the army he lived in Constantinople. The precise date of that massacre is uncertain: it is to be placed either in the second half of A.D. 337, as I am inclined to think;⁴ or very early in A.D. 338 (so Seeck, *Geschichte*, etc., iv. p. 391; cf. Hieron., *Chron.* 2354). Julian had just begun his education in the Eastern capital (*ὅτε τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν ἡρχόμεν παιδείας*, Julian, *Ep. ad Them.* 259 B) when the catastrophe occurred. After the massacre he was removed from Constantinople to Nicomedia, where his relative Eusebius was bishop. While in Nicomedia, as is well known, he was entrusted to the care of the eunuch Mardonius, 'his spiritual father.' Eusebius was translated from Nicomedia to the see of Constantinople c. 339-340: his young charge probably returned with him at this time to the capital (cf. Allard, *Julien l'Apostat*, i. 267). When in Constantinople for the second time he is still under *παιδαγωγοί* (Libanius [Förster], ii. p. 241), and that one of these—the *εὐνοῦχος βέλτιστος σωφροσύνης φύλαξ* of Libanius—was Mardonius, as Förster states, there can hardly be any doubt. When Julian was banished to Macellum he was parted from Mardonius. On his second visit to Nicomedia there is no mention of Mardonius; we may therefore conclude that it was from Constantinople, and not from Nicomedia, that Julian was exiled to Macellum. I have contended as against Seeck (*English Historical Review*, xxvii. p. 758) that the exile in Macellum terminated about 348: we know that the young princes were still at Macellum in 347 when Constantius paid a brief visit to their place of confinement. The stay at Macellum lasted six years: it thus began about 342. Julian was therefore in Constantinople from c. 339-340 to 342. Libanius was in Constantinople until 344: it is therefore to these years that his confession refers: *ἔλγουν οὐ σπείραν αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην ψυχὴν* (p. 241). When Julian was torn away from school he was a mere boy (*ἐμὲ δὲ κομῶδῃ μαιράκιον ἔτι τῶν διδασκαλείων ἀπαγαγόντες* 271 B)—about eleven years old. During his stay at Macellum, however (eleven to seventeen), he would be quite capable of appreciating the books which he borrowed from the library

² For the fact that Socrates wrote with this *ἐντάφιος λόγος* before him, cf. Socr. iii. 23, p. 200. That his account was composed with the view of combating the representation of the motives of Constantius as given by Libanius in the *ἐντάφιος λόγος* has been already remarked by Förster (see his notes in his edition of Libanius, ii. [1904], pp. 241-242). That the account of Sozomen (v. 1) is independent of both Socrates (iii. 1) and Libanius needs no proof.

³ Apart from the doubtful evidence of the oracle (cf. C. Radinger, *Das Geburtsdatum des Kaisers Julian Apostata*, *Philologus* l. [1891], p. 761; K. J. Neumann, *Das Geburtsjahr Kaiser Julians*, *Ibid.* pp. 761-

762; O. Seeck, *Das Epigramm des Germanicus und seine Ueberschrift*, *Rheinisches Museum*, N.S. lxix. [1914], pp. 565-567), we have Julian's own statement in his letter to the Alexandrians, written in the winter of 362 (cf. Seeck, *Geschichte*, etc., iv. p. 391): *οὐχ ἀπαρτήσατε γὰρ τῆς ἀπ' ἡμῶν ἀδελφείας τῆς κοινότητος ἐκείνης τοῦ θεοῦ (= Christianity) ἅπερ ἐν τῷ θεῷ καὶ ταύτῃ (= the worship of Helios) ἔβη αἰὲς θεοὶ κοινωμένης ταύτατος ἐρον.* *Ep.* 51. p. 434 D (= Bidez and Cumont, p. 172).

⁴ Cf. N. H. Baynes, *Athenians: Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* xi. [1925], at p. 67.

of George, later to become bishop of Alexandria (cf. J. Bidez, '*La Jeunesse de l'empereur Julien*,' *Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres*, etc., 1921, pp. 197-216 at p. 210). At the end of this banishment (c. A.D. 348) Gallus returned to Ephesus, where he had property (Soz., v. 2. 15; cf. Jul., *Epist. ad Ath.* 273 B); and thereafter was summoned to the Court, where 'he was kept a close prisoner' (Jul., *ibid.* 271 D) until he was created Caesar. Julian went once more to Constantinople (Soz., *l.c.*), and it is to this period that we should refer his studies under Hecebolius and Nicocles of which Socrates speaks. The reason for the chronological misplacement in Socrates is, as we have seen, the fact that he is writing with the *ἐπιτάφιος λόγος* of Libanius before him, and is therefore misled by Libanius' suppression of all reference to the stay at Macellum. Julian was now (A.D. 348-349) an attractive youth of seventeen or eighteen: it was no wonder that Constantius, always suspicious of possible rivals, felt that it was dangerous to allow Julian to remain in Constantinople, especially since the emperor was himself absent in Syria at this time (cf. Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste*, p. 196). The passage in Libanius (p. 242) and that in Sozomen (v. 2, 15) both have reference to this period: as Libanius says of Julian, *ἤδη δὲ πρόσηβος ἦν*: he is no longer a child, he is free to pursue his own education: *παιδεύεσθαι δὲ δίδωσιν* (sc. Constantius) *ἐξουσίαν* (Lib., p. 242, 12). We know from Eunapius that Julian asked *ἐπιτραπήναι οἱ καὶ ῥητορικῶν ἀκροῦσασθαι καὶ φιλοσόφων λόγων* (Eunap., *Vitae Sophist.* p. 473), and that Constantius consented, *περὶ τὰ βιβλία πλανᾶσθαι βουλόμενος αὐτὸν καὶ ἀργεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ γένοντος καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ὑπομνήσκεσθαι*. Julian had ample means (*βαθέων καὶ βαρυτάτων ὑποκειμένων κτημάτων*, *ibid.*). He was sent to Nicomedia, and one limitation only was imposed upon his freedom: he was not to attend the lectures of Libanius: he was compelled to reinforce his promise 'by many great oaths.' On the chronology of Seeck Julian was a boy of twelve or thirteen at this time: surely at that age even a Roman boy could be restrained by other means than *πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ὄρκοις*! Many modern writers have found the prohibition itself somewhat inexplicable; but the explanation is surely not far to seek. Hecebolius, it would seem (cf. Geffcken, *op. cit.* p. 8), accompanied Julian to Nicomedia, and Hecebolius was a sophist of Constantinople: Nicocles had been Julian's teacher: but it was precisely Nicocles and the other professors of Constantinople who had plotted to drive Libanius from the capital (cf. Sievers, *Das Leben des Libanius*, pp. 51-53). Those oaths were inspired, not by any Christian bigotry of Constantius, but by the jealousy of a professorial cabal. Libanius was in Nicomedia from c. 344 to 349: Julian returning from Macellum, probably in 348, may have been sent to Nicomedia in the same year, or early in 349. The fact that Julian was now independent with large means at his disposal fully explains the language of Libanius: Julian by means of costly gifts to an intermediary was able to procure notes of the lectures of the great sophist (*πορθμέα τινὰ τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν λεγομένων δωρεᾶς μεγάλαις κτησόμενος*): this is not the act of a boy of thirteen; however precocious Julian may have been, a boy of thirteen, inflamed with an insatiable passion for the sight of the notes of a

university professor's lectures, is surely a very remarkable phenomenon ! It was here, in Nicomedia, that, according to Sozomen, Julian first met Maximus : it was but natural that he should proceed from Nicomedia to Pergamum, to Aedesius, the philosopher whose disciple Maximus was (Eunapius, *Vitae Sophist.*, p. 474). When he was twenty years old—in 351, the year that Gallus was made Caesar—there followed his conversion to the faith of Hellenism.

I believe that on this chronology we can satisfactorily explain all our own authorities, and can outline a consistent story of Julian's early years.

NORMAN H. BAYNES.

A PORTRAIT-STATUETTE OF SOCRATES

[PLATES X.-XIII.]

THE British Museum has recently had the good fortune to acquire a statuette representing Socrates, which has been purchased for the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, with the aid of contributions from the National Art Collections Fund, Dr. Walter Leaf, and Mr. G. Eumorfopoulos. It is illustrated from four different points of view in Plates X.-XIII. It is of Parian marble, standing 27.5 cm. or 11 inches high, and was found recently at Alexandria. The statuette is in almost perfect condition, except that both feet are missing and also a portion of the drapery above the left foot; the manner in which the surface of the marble has been treated is remarkable, the flesh surfaces being highly polished throughout, while the hair, beard, and drapery retain a rough unpolished surface.

The philosopher stands full-face, with the right leg slightly bent; he wears a chiton which leaves the breast bare and is gathered at its upper edge in a thick fold immediately above the waist. Over it is a himation falling over the left shoulder and draped transversely over the back, where the sculptor's attempt at reproducing the effect of a textile fabric by very simple means has been surprisingly successful (see Plate XIII.). The garment is gathered up in a fold on the left side, where it hangs over the arm, the edge being caught in the left hand and drawn slightly back; the right hand, which is beautifully modelled, catches up the edge of the himation just above the knee.

But naturally it is the face which first draws our attention. And I think that here we probably have a truer and more lifelike presentment of the philosopher than any of the previously-known busts has given us. It is true that it may not correspond in every particular to the descriptions given by Plato or Xenophon of the Socratic physiognomy, but it gives the unmistakable impression of being true to life, and free from the conventions, either of idealism or of realism, which mark the other representations. Socrates now seems to stand before us (even on this reduced scale) as he must have appeared to the eyes of his fellow-citizens day by day in Athens.

To what extent the features as here depicted correspond with the literary descriptions we shall see presently. The head is decidedly less bald than in most of the existing busts, the hair, which is smooth but thick and slightly curling, coming well down on to the forehead and temples, and covering the ears. The long moustache falls in a symmetrical curve on either side of the mouth, and the beard in separate curls, of which the two middle ones reach down to the top of the breast. Of the features the pronouncedly snub nose strikes us at once with its breadth and shortness, showing the wide-open

nostrils. The thick under-lip is all of the mouth that is visible. The slightly wrinkled brow overhangs the somewhat deeply-sunk eye-sockets, and the eyes, which are long and narrow, have the pupils marked by incised circles. The expression of the face combines thoughtfulness and benevolence.

There are two passages in Plato which throw light on Socrates' personal appearance. One is in the *Theaetetus* (143 E), where the young man who gives his name to the dialogue is compared with the philosopher: προσέειπε δὲ σοὶ τὴν τε σιμότητα καὶ τὸ ἔξω τῶν ὀμμάτων, ἦττον δ' ἢ σὺ ταῦτ' ἔχει. Then there is the better known passage in the *Symposium* (215 B), where Alcibiades compares him to Seilenos and Marsyas: φημί γὰρ δὴ ὁμοιότατον αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῖς Σεληνοῖς . . . καὶ φημι αὐτὸν εἰκέναι αὐτὸν τῷ Σατύρῳ τῷ Μαρσύνῃ, ὅτι μὲν αὖν τὸ γε εἶδος ὅμοιος εἰ τοῦτοις, ὧς Σώκρατες, οὐδ' αὐτὸς δῆπου ἀμφισβητήσεις. And again in the same dialogue: Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ἡ πάντων Σεληνῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς Σατορικοῖς αἰσχιστος ἂν εἴην. ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης καὶ ἐτύγχανε προσεμφερὲς τοῦτοις ὄν.

This description is supplemented by more than one allusion in Xenophon's *Symposium*, as, for instance, to his projecting stomach (ii. 19): ἡ τὸδε γελᾶτε, εἰ μείζω τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν γαστέρα ἔχων μετριοτέρην βούλομαι ποιῆσαι αὐτήν. Elsewhere (v. 5) Socrates gives the reason for his prominent eyes being better adapted for seeing than Critoboulos': ὅτι οἱ μὲν σοὶ τὸ κατευθὺ μόνον ὀρώσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐμοὶ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πλαγίου διὰ τὸ ἐπιπόλαιοι εἶναι. Again in v. 6 he claims similar advantages for his nose: οἱ μὲν γὰρ σοὶ μυκτῆρες εἰς γῆν ὀρώσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐμοὶ ἀναπέπτανται, ὥστε τὰς παντόθεν ὀσμάς προσδέχεσθαι. τὸ δὲ ἐγὼ σιμὸν τῆς ῥινός . . . οἷα ἀντιφράττει, ἀλλ' εἰς εὐθὺς τὰς ὀφεις ὄραν ἂν βούλωνται· ἡ δὲ ὑψηλὴ ῥίς . . . διατετείχικε τὰ ὄμματα. On the other hand, in regard to the mouth he admits his inferiority: διὰ τὸ παχέα ἔχειν τὰ χεῖλη (v. 7). It is, of course, possible that these descriptions are exaggerated, but they have the great merit of being contemporary.

Some further details are added by later writers. Cicero (*De Fato*, 5) says: 'stupidum esse Socraten dixit Zopyrus et bardum quod iugula concava non haberet' (*iugula* = the part just above the collar-bones). Sidonius Apollinaris alludes to his baldness (*coma cadente*, *Ep.* ix. 14). Lucian (*Dial. Mort.* 20) also refers to his snub nose and baldness, and his eyes are described by Adamantios the physiognomist as ὑψηλοὶ μεγάλοι τε καὶ εὐαγεῖς καὶ ὑγρὸν βλέποντες. From all these allusions we can at any rate derive a very fair idea of Socrates' appearance, even if they are not borne out in every detail by our statuette. To take one obvious detail, the eyes can hardly be described as prominent (*ἐπιπόλαιοι*), nor is the stomach notably so; as indeed we should hardly expect it to be in a man of such ascetic habit. The absence of the baldness, to which frequent allusion is made, seems to be peculiar to our statuette; it may, however, conceivably represent the philosopher at an earlier age than the others. Somehow one always thinks of Socrates, as of other well-known personages, only as an old man. The epithet ὑγρὸν which has been applied to the eyes is not easy of explanation. It is frequently applied to those of Aphrodite to denote a melting or languishing expression, but in

this case it may have some reference to the gentle, benevolent expression which is certainly more marked in our statuette than in any of the others which have been published.

The next question to be considered is that of the date of the statuette and the origin of the type. How far can realistic portraiture be traced back in Greek art? Apart from the various statues of individual athletes recorded by Pausanias and other writers, which may be assumed to have been idealised figures rather than actual portraits, the first name of a portrait-sculptor mentioned is that of Kresilas, who 'fecit Olympium Periclem dignum cognomine, mirumque in hac arte est quod nobiles viros nobiliores fecit' (Pliny, *H.N.* xxxiv. 74). The description leaves us in no doubt that the face of the statesman was idealised so as to be 'dignum cognomine (Olympium),' and this is confirmed by such replicas as the well-known head in the British Museum,¹ and the herm of the Vatican. Kolotes, a pupil of Phœdrias and contemporary of Kresilas, 'fecit philosophos,'² but of him we know nothing more.

The first recorded instance of a realistic portrait is that of the Corinthian general Pelichos, made by Demetrius of Alopekê, whose date appears to be about 400-380 B.C. Lucian's description (*Philopseud.* 18)³ is well known, of 'the man with a prominent belly, bald head, the body half exposed by the mantle, the scanty hairs of his beard blown about by the wind, the standing-out veins, altogether an exact representation of the original.' It is difficult to believe that we are reading about a pre-Alexandrine piece of work. There is also Silanion's portrait of the sculptor Apollodoros, of whom Pliny says (*H.N.* xxxiv. 81), 'neo hominem ex aere fecit sed iracundiam.' This too must have been a piece of realism, with its transformation of the individual into a personification of Anger.

From the pages of Overbeck's *Schriftquellen* we may extract many instances of portrait-statues executed in the fourth century, but in most cases there is no clue to the manner of treatment. We may, however, assume that the two already mentioned in detail were exceptions, and that it was not until the representations of Alexander the Great gave a definite impetus to portraiture as a recognised branch of sculpture that definite attention was given to faithful reproduction of individual features and peculiarities.

As Hekler points out,⁴ at the end of the fifth century Greek art was changing from the typically beautiful to the individually characteristic. It was Socrates' own demand that the sculptor should express the activity of the soul; and curiously enough it is in the case of the philosopher himself that Greek art responded most brilliantly, in spite of the great difficulties of his peculiar physiognomy. As Wilamowitz says (quoted by Hekler), 'the grotesquely ugly and yet fascinating countenance of the philosopher became a problem for artists, the problem of significant ugliness and also of beauty without beautiful forms.' This problem of the Socrates type occupied artists for several centuries, and all the existing portraits exhibit the naturalistic style which first came in with

¹ *Cat. of Sculpture*, i. No. 549.

² *H.N.* xxxiv. 87.

³ Also alluded to by Quintilian, xii. 10.

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⁴ and the younger Pliny, *Ep.* iii. 6.

⁵ *Greek and Roman Portraits*, p. xi.

Alexander. It is hardly likely that any can be traced to a contemporary portrait, although there may be some truth in the story told by Tertullian,⁵ that the Athenians, in order to show compunction for having condemned Socrates to death, had a bronze statue of him, the work of Lysippos, erected in the Pompeion. It seems scarcely probable that their repentance was delayed until the time of Lysippos, fifty years after Socrates' death, and possibly his was a distinct work, or else the story was invented to explain its



FIG. 1.—BRONZE STATUETTE OF HERMARCHOS.

origin. All the existing portraits appear to reproduce a type or types which later artists, whether using a contemporary likeness or not, actually based on the well-known passages of Plato and Xenophon already cited. This explains the marked differences in the conceptions of the philosopher in the various reproductions, of which Bernoulli⁶ enumerates 33 in busts, besides numerous gems (five in the British Museum⁷) and a mosaic at Cologne. Pre-

⁵ *Apol.* 14; cf. *Diog. Laert.* II. 43.

⁶ *Cat. of Gems* (new ed.), Nos. 1953-1956.

⁷ *Griech. Honogr.* I p. 184 ff., Pls. XXI.— 3573.

vious to the discovery of our statuette, no full-length portraits were known, though there are some reliefs of minor importance.

Bernoulli and other writers have traced three types of the Socrates bust, representing different stages of art-development. The earliest would seem to be that which shows the greatest amount of naturalism, rather aiming at outward physical details than expressing the inward spirit of the sage. But though naturalistic, it is not realistic, inasmuch as it does not emphasise ugly features. This type is best exemplified in a bust in the Louvre (Bernoulli, Pl. XXI.), and at first sight this seems to be most closely allied to our statuette, though the latter is, as we have seen, by no means purely naturalistic. This type certainly goes back to the fourth century, and Bernoulli suggests that in it we may perhaps trace the hand of Lysippos. But there is another type, exemplified by a bust in Naples and another in the Vatican (Bernoulli, Pl. XXII.) where the ugly details acquire an expressive power, and the whole conception is loftier. Though the facial resemblance is not so close, I would prefer to associate this type with our statuette, and to trace here the Lysippian influence. Both types may well go back to the fourth century, and there is no reason why the Louvre type should not even be pre-Lysippian in origin. The third type is markedly inferior to the other two; it is also of later date, not earlier than the Hellenistic period. The artist is here markedly careless of actual likeness, and does not emphasise the physical peculiarities, but he aims at expressing the intellectual force of the philosopher with all the resources of a later and more materialistic art. Of this type the Villa Albani head is the best example.⁷⁰ Perhaps we shall not be far wrong in dating our statuette about 300 B.C.

The Socrates statuette is interesting in another aspect, as a rare instance of a full-length portrait on this scale. It would be difficult to find a parallel to it in marble, though examples in bronze are not quite unknown. There is, for instance, the bronze figure identified by Mrs. Esdaile as Aristippos,⁷¹ in the British Museum. But in that material there is a closer parallel in the charming little figure of Hermarchos acquired some years ago by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, which is reproduced here (Fig. 1), probably not being familiar to English readers. It was described by Miss Richter⁷² as 'probably the finest Greek portrait-statue on a small scale now in existence,' and represents the Epicurean philosopher Hermarchos, whose date is about 270 B.C., its identity being recovered from an inscribed bust at Naples. 'The features' (to quote from her description) 'are very individually treated, but the realism of detail is combined with force and dignity suggestive of a full-size sculpture.' The figure stands 10½ in. high, and is thus on a slightly smaller scale than the Socrates, to which the generosity of the Curator of the New York Museum will perhaps now be willing to yield the palm. But the special attractiveness of the British Museum statuette is that, whatever its merits as a faithful or pleasing portrait, it is undeniably also a great and beautiful work of art.

⁷⁰ Bernoulli, *Gr. Iconogr.* i. Pl. XXIII.

⁷¹ *J.H.S.*, 1914, p. 47 ff.

⁷² *Metrop. Mus. of Art (Bronzes)*, p. 70 ff.

I am also able, by the kindness of Sir Arthur Evans, to give here an enlarged reproduction (8 times size) of a gem in his possession on which is engraved a full-length figure of Socrates (Fig. 2). I may also be permitted to quote here



FIG. 2.—SOCRATES. FROM A GEM IN THE POSSESSION OF SIR ARTHUR EVANS.

(Enlarged to eight times size).

Sir Arthur Evans' description of the gem: "Evidently it represents a characteristic attitude, and I have long compared it with the characteristic seated figure of Bacon at St. Alban's. . . . The work, so far as I am personally able to judge, is Greek of good Fourth Century. The attitude must be said to be very different from that of your statuette. The exposure of the side so as to

show the curves of the whole back of the figure in contrast to the falling lines of the mantle goes back, in the case of boys, to the middle of the Fifth Century and beyond, and is illustrated already in the Elensis relief. I cannot believe that the gem is other than fine Greek work . . . Socrates thrusts his right arm through the folds of the mantle and his left grasps its border. This tense attitude certainly seems to be taken from Nature."

The gem is a sard, and was formerly in the Short Collection. I hesitate to differ from so great an authority, but I should be inclined to place it at a somewhat later date. The shape of the stone, an elongated oval, is so very characteristic of gems of the Hellenistic period. But as we have already seen, there is no objection on archaeological grounds to placing such a realistic piece of work as early as the fourth century. Seeing that the gem and the statuette cannot be very far apart in date, their dissimilarity is almost startling. But to me they seem to represent the philosopher at different periods of his life.

By the courtesy of the Editors of the *Journal* I have been able to put together these few notes just before the present part went to press, in order to introduce to its readers this very remarkable accession to the treasures of the Museum; but it is obvious that it will amply repay more prolonged study, and may well form the basis of any further study of Greek portraiture and its relation to the art of the great sculptors of the fourth century.

H. B. WALTERS.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Prehistoric Aegean Pottery. Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum. Vol. I. Part I. By E. J. FORSDYKE, M.A., F.S.A., Assistant Keeper in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. London: The British Museum; Oxford University Press, etc. 1925. £2 5s.

'Prehistoric Aegean Pottery,' which forms the subject of the first part of the latest published volume of the British Museum Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases, covers a wide field of recent discovery upon which every season's work throws additional light. Our knowledge may often be described as still in a fluid state which makes it difficult to deal with results in such a cut-and-dried manner as a catalogue requires. Much of the information indeed is so fresh and its publication so incomplete as to be only accessible to students who have been able to visit many of the recently excavated sites and to examine the remains on the spot or in local Museums. Unfortunately this supplementary need of a personal inspection of recently excavated materials abroad on the part of those to whom Catalogues are entrusted does not seem to be sufficiently realised by the Trustees of the Museum.

Mr. Forsdyke has made a very careful study both of the objects referred to in his Department and of the published materials, and past researches of his own in Greece itself have also stood him in good stead, especially in dealing with the 'Minyan' wares. But it is clear, for instance, that if he had had an opportunity of seeing the results of the recent researches of Dr. Blegen and the American School on early sites of the Morea he would not have expressed himself in a sceptical manner (p. xix and p. xvii, n. 5) as to the occurrence there of Neolithic sherds representing the true southern extension of the 'Thessalian' class. Sherds of this class, both of the early bichrome and of three-coloured and other types, practically indistinguishable from the 'Dimini' ware, have been found, as the writer of these lines can personally vouch, on a series of Peloponnesian sites from Corinth and Phlius to the neighbourhood of Tegea in Arcadia. They have now also occurred by the Argive Heraeum. There can indeed be little remaining doubt that this remarkable Mainland type of Neolithic, with its wide northern and north-eastern range, had once extended to the southernmost forelands of the Morea. At the beginning of the Age of Metals its domain south and partly north of the Gulf of Corinth was cut into by a rival form of culture, of very different connexions, coming from the Cyclades, just as, later, the 'Helladic' cultural type so constituted was, early in its so-called 'Middle' period, partly overlaid by the intensive 'Minyan,' the affinities of which point to the northern Aegean islands or the Troad. 'The delicate grey colour and metallic shapes' of the Minyan vessels reflect, indeed, as Mr. Forsdyke has rightly recognised, 'the traditional Hellespontine silver industry.'

The strength of the British Museum in this prehistoric field lies for the most part in the later fabrics to which the general name of 'Mycenaean' has been given. The pottery from the Ialysos tombs and from those excavated in Cyprus on behalf of the Museum, the tomb-groups of which have been so well reproduced in a special publication, make it a real centre for the study of this ceramic class. It is therefore satisfactory to observe that in dealing with it Mr. Forsdyke has taken up a thoroughly sound standpoint. Recognising from the first that the Minoan classification, supplied by the Cretan evidence and now generally accepted by archaeologists, remains the best practical guide to the arrangement of cognate materials, he has sought throughout to equate with it the ceramic phases traceable in Mainland Greece and elsewhere from the earliest days of Mycenae onwards. Nor

has he been misled by the profoundly unhistoric attempt of which unfortunately Vol. XXV. of the *Annuaire of the British School at Athens* has been made the exponent, to substitute the term 'Late Helladic' for 'Mycenaean'.

It was indeed a real conquest from outside that put an end to the existing 'Helladic-Minyan' culture of the Peloponnese. The movement may well have been the work of confederate chieftains, and a Minoised Anatolian element as well as a purely Cretan seems to have contributed its share. But it was essentially the violent displacement of an inferior by a higher civilisation. In its incipient stage, illustrated by the earliest remains of the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, which correspond in date with the Third Middle Minoan period, we still see the handiwork of indigenous potters side by side with the artistic fabrics of Minoan craftsmen. But what a contrast they present! Mr. Forsdyke indeed is moved to exclaim, 'It is as if native American pottery were found in graves of New England settlers: the makers of these coarse, ill-decorated Helladic fabrics were no more capable of throwing, painting or firing the Minoan vases than Indian potters could reproduce Delft glazed-ware.' In the succeeding L.M. I. period the conquest was complete; degraded Helladic and Minyan wares occur as mere survivals, nor is it possible in Early Middle Mycenaean pottery, which belonged to what have been so inaptly termed the 'First and Second Late Helladic periods,' to detect any divergence from the contemporary styles of Crete' (L.M. I and L.M. II.). The continued use of the fatty local clay that had been used for Minyan ware in itself proves nothing, and the so-called 'Ephyraean goblets' made of this cannot, as has been claimed, be regarded as a 'Minyan' survival. The proof of this is that the cup that supplies the prototype—itsself representing a Cretan metal form—is a recurring feature among the ceramic remains of the last Palace period (L.M. II.) at Knossos, presenting not only the same shape but the same characteristic decoration of rosettes and lilies with barred stamens that mark this Mainland series.

Mr. Forsdyke confirms to the usage of Cretan investigators in recent years by grouping under L.M. I. *b* (Early Mycenaean *b*) a ceramic class which includes many beautiful marine types and stylised compositions that are the forerunners of the developed 'Palace Style' of L.M. II. This class, which is so brilliantly represented by the great amphoras of the Kakovatos tholoi and contemporary remains at Mycenae, derives a special interest from the fact that vases of the same fabric have recurred in a series of Egyptian tombs dating from the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty. They mark, indeed, an historical epoch, since from the beginning of the next Minoan style (L.M. II., or Middle Mycenaean) the evidence of such importation into the Nile Valley breaks off. This classification was adopted in the British School publications on Palai-Kastro, and the place of this ceramic class, as antecedent to the closing 'Palace Style' of Knossos, was clearly recognised by Professors Bessanquet and Dawkins and their collaborators. It is therefore the more to be regretted that in the recent School publication of the Mycenaean remains L.M. I. *b*, or Early Mycenaean *b*, has been merged in 'Late Helladic II.'—a retrogression in arrangement as well as nomenclature.

That Late Minoan III.—Mr. Forsdyke's Late Mycenaean—covered a very extensive period of time has long been evident. At Knossos, while the earlier phase (*A*), roughly dated by the Tell-el-Amarna sherds, found some good illustrations in the Zafar Papouta cemetery, a lower term (*B*) was recognised in the remains due to the partial re-occupation of the Palace site after an interval marked by about 25 centimetres of gradual deposit. Mr. Forsdyke has noted a convenient 'hall-mark' of the beginning of his Late Mycenaean *B* in a hook-shaped excrescence representing the stamens of the traditional floral design seen on false-necked jars. He shows that the evolution of this type was not reached till after the Tell-el-Amarna epoch.

Mr. Forsdyke in his Introduction gives a useful appreciation of this second Late Mycenaean phase (*B*) which is richly represented in the Museum series. Its mature elements are well illustrated by the pottery found by Professor Dawkins at Phylakopi in a stratum definitely superposed on that containing the earlier Late Mycenaean Class (*A*). Of special interest are the deep two-handled bowls, in the panels, half-rosettes and chequers in some of which Mr. Forsdyke with great probability sees the revival of certain architectural motives that appear on amphoras of the latest Palace Style at Knossos. The comparatively

late date of this class of bowls is nevertheless clearly established not only by such stratigraphic evidence as that referred to, but by the fact that both the form of vessel and the tradition of the panelled decoration survives into the succeeding 'proto-Geometric' period, which lies definitely within the limits of the Early Iron Age. On the other hand, imitative ornamentation of this kind on similar deep bowls makes its appearance among early Philistine wares, such as those which at Yehudiya occur in the ruins of a palace of Ramses III.

The Philistine connexion brings down the close of this Late Mycenaean class to a date approaching 1100: it must have overlapped at least the beginning of the Early Iron Age, and, in dealing with individual specimens, one is often tempted to use the word 'Sub-Mycenaean.'

In his conclusions regarding the chronology of the panelled types and other related forms Mr. Forsdyke shows himself in complete agreement with the general results of archaeological research in this field as illustrated by Mackenzie, Fimmen, Thiersch, Dawkins, Bosanquet and others, and, with remarkable intuition, by Furtwängler, who already in his *Mykenische Vasen* grouped them under his 'Fourth Style' (Plates XXXVII., XXXVIII.). The bowls with 'panelled' decoration themselves no doubt cover a considerable period of time, but even the earlier belong rather to the developed Late Mycenaean B style than to its beginning, and they survive its close.

It is necessary to insist on this, which belongs indeed to the ascertained results of archaeological research, since the late Director of the British School at Athens, misled by the occurrence of a fragment of a panelled bowl of this class beneath a section of the threshold of the 'Treasury of Atreus,' has made use of it to support his theory of a great architectural era at Mycenae at the very beginning of the Late Mycenaean period ('L.H. III.'). But the section of threshold beneath which this fragment was found is itself a patch-work makeshift of limestone in replacement of what had doubtless been originally a compact wedge of conglomerate similar to the side blocks, a material which in such a position might easily have 'dissintegrated.' In Dr. Blegen's work on 'Korakou,' moreover, in which Mr. Wace co-operated, similar bowls (owing, presumably, to some local deficiency of the earlier class of Late Mycenaean wares), are placed at the head of 'L.H. III.' As to the inference concerning the date of the 'Atreus Treasury,' the theory, even as it stands, is open to grave objections, since the architectural details of that monument correspond with remains of sculptural decoration belonging to the earliest element of the later Palace at Knossos (M.M. III.-L.M. I.). But, when it is seen that the sherd in question belongs, not to the beginning of Late Mycenaean A, but to the fully evolved B phase, the impossibility of the conclusions involved becomes even more patent. The great age of Mycenae would, in fact, be relegated to the period of decadence that preceded its final ruin.

It is difficult indeed to over-estimate the confusion which the recent Report of the School Excavations at Mycenae published in Vol. XXV. of the *B.S.A.*—in spite of the painstaking work that it embodies—is likely to cause to students. The ignoring of the classificatory results of previous workers, illustrated by the merging of L.M. I. b and L.M. II. in 'L.H. II.' is repeated in the case of 'L.H. III.,' where no attempt is made to distinguish its earlier and later phase. In the one case 'L.H. II.' is used to refer to objects, some of them belonging to the middle of the sixteenth century B.C., and others to the close of the fifteenth. In the other the same term ('L.H. III.') is used for pottery belonging to the early part of the fourteenth and to the latter half of the twelfth century B.C. This vagueness of definition at the same time serves as a cloak for Mr. Wace's archaeological heresies, which are themselves tied up together as if they formed part of a legal document.

For these reasons the appearance of Mr. Forsdyke's *Catalogue* with its carefully weighed Introduction and very full illustrations must be regarded as specially opportune. It supplies a welcome corrective to much that is misleading and, it must be added, tendentious in the recent publication referred to, and it is to be hoped that it may be of general use among students as an archaeological text-book.

ARTHUR EVANS.

Language and Philology. By ROLAND G. KENT, Ph.D. Pp. 174. London: G. G. Harrap & Co., 1924. 5s.

This little book, which is one of the series called *Our Debt to Greece and Rome*, contains an account of the Greek and Latin elements in the English language. The author, with the useful warning that 'blood inheritance and linguistic inheritance are two very different things,' leads the way with brief accounts of Indo-European philology and of Greek and Latin in particular, and thus arrives at his main subject. His method is largely statistical, and in this way he carries us from Beowulf, with his one per cent. of words of classical origin, down to Shakespeare and Browning and the contemporary writers, with percentages as high as sixty-five. To prefixes and suffixes a special chapter is devoted, and the student will note that such words as *auxiliator*, a hair restorer, and *kelvinator*, some kind of refrigerator, show that even the most recent developments of the language still owe a debt to Latin. The sketch of the alphabet and writing at the end of the book is, probably owing to exigencies of space, really too brief. Occasionally a point may be seen to be missed. Thus in his treatment of compound words, the author contrasts those written as one word—*countryman*, *woodcock*—with those written as two—*city man*, *wood thrush*; he should have pointed out that the distinction is not arbitrary, but depends upon whether the group has a single accent or keeps the two accents of its component parts. No previous knowledge of any language but English is demanded, and the book will no doubt be found useful.

R. M. D.

Zwei Kapitel aus dem griechischen Bundesrecht. By HEINRICH SWOBODA. Pp. 74. Vienna: Holder-Pichler-Tempsky A. G., 1924.

In this scholarly paper, the author—pursuing his own and other previously published inquiries of a like nature—first discusses in general the Greek conception of federal union between States (i.e. their conception of a *Bundesstaat* as contrasted with a *Staatenbund*), and then proceeds to consider various problems which particularly concern the third-century *συντακτικὰ* of Keos and East Lokris.

In order to shed light on the nature of the *Bundesstaat*, he endeavours to determine with some exactitude the rights and privileges which an individual Greek would possess in the quality of Federal citizen, i.e. *quâ Bundesbürger*, especially in the case of those Leagues which Emil Szanto long ago classified under the heading of '*bundesstaatliche Sympolitien*,' and in which the individual member possessed a double citizenship in that every full member was a citizen of his own State as well as of the League. By a careful review of the available evidence, mainly, of course, epigraphic, Swoboda reaches the conclusion that the rights and duties of the League citizenship could find effective exercise and fulfilment only through the possession of local citizenship within one of the contracting States; that this League citizenship did not usually or normally carry with it such important rights as those of *ἐριγασία* and *ἐκκρίσις γῆς καὶ οὐκίας* within all the States constituting the union; and in general, that, in spite of its great authority and independent will (finding expression through its own executive officers and League-Assembly clothed ultimately with legislative and judicial powers); the League did not overshadow the sovereignty and exclusiveness of the individual States, nor was the local citizenship subordinated to the League citizenship, but asserted itself successfully alongside of it. In the case of the Chalkidic League of the early fourth century, it follows, it is true, from *Xen. Hell.* v. 2. 19 that each *Bundesbürger* enjoyed the rights of *ἐριγασία* and *ἐκκρίσις* in all States of the League, and this League is a notable instance of the far-reaching consequences to which a more thorough-going development of the ideas underlying such unions would have led; but the fact is that the Chalkidic Bund remained a special case, without successor. The majority of subsequent Greek *Bundesstaaten* belonged, argues Swoboda, to the type of *bundesstaatliche Sympolitien* he has outlined.

In regard to the *συντακτικὰ* of Keos, attested by inscriptions to be dated with Pontow *cir.* 220 B.C., Swoboda argues against Szanto and Francotte that the more probable view

is that the cities of Keos at this time had agreed to *συννομία* rather than to a federal union of cities which each retained its own distinct citizenship; while in regard to East Lokris, he refuses—in view of the still unresolved difficulties which attach to the interpretation of the, in this connexion basic, inscription recording the treaty between Naryka and the Lokrian *εαρόν*—to enter into the constitutional questions therein involved, but endeavours to show that Wilhelm's date for this document (between 275–240 B.C.) is too late, and that it should rather be placed between the years 290–268 B.C.

P. A. S.

The Works of Aristotle translated into English, under the Editorship of W. D. ROSS:—

De Caelo, by J. L. STOCKS; *De Generatione et Corruptione*, by H. H. JOACHIM. Pp. 338. 1922.

Meteorologica, by E. W. WEBSTER. Pp. vi + 136. 1923.

Rhetorica, by W. RHYS ROBERTS; *De Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, by E. S. FORSTER; *De Poetica*, by INGRAM BYWATER. Pp. xv + 334. 1924. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Abundant pains have been bestowed upon these, the latest additions to the Oxford translation of Aristotle. They are based upon the best available texts, which have been improved by some good emendations, and, more often, by valuable changes in punctuation. Professor Forster has used Spengel's text without Spengel's audacities, and has taken account of the Hibel Papyrus; for his translation of the *De Caelo* Professor Stocks collated from a photograph; and Professor Joachim undertook his edition of the *De Generatione et Corruptione* before translating. A disturbing result is that Bekker is proved untrustworthy: Professor Joachim found that on an average the MSS. are misreported twice on every page of the Berlin edition, and an almost equal proportion of errors can be inferred from the footnotes to this translation of the *Meteorologica*.

Aristotle is read for his matter and in spite of his manner; and the translators were therefore right to aim at unambiguous sense rather than at an Aristotelian style. In the *Rhetoric*, for example, though Jebb more nearly suggests the terseness of the original, Professor Rhys Roberts sometimes shows its meaning more clearly. In the more difficult treatises the right emphasis is often given by a judicious use of italics; and the course of many arguments is elucidated by the numbering of their sections.

For the *Poetics* Bywater's translation is reprinted; and that it may conform (though a model) with the rest of the series, Mr. Ross has supplied a table of contents, brief notes, and an index. Professor Joachim is a worthy successor, and in all points special praise must be given to his masterly translation, which both renders and illuminates. Professor Stocks also is very good. Apart from the general criticism that he occasionally slights *an* and *ye* (as in 289 b 5, where the omission of *ye* is due to an unnecessary transposition of clauses), there are few and trivial points to be noticed: for example, 'self-contained motion' might not be understood to mean motion which *αὐτὴν αὐτὴν ποιεῖ* (290 b 4); and in 292 b 8 *τοῦ* should be taken, I think, with *αὐα* only. Though much is gained by improved punctuation of the Greek (Mr. Ross transplants a comma with great effect in 312 a 24), the translation is not well pointed at 307 b 1–4. In the note on the dimensions of the earth (298 a 10) readers would be spared some astonishment if it were stated that the figures are given in German geographical miles, and that each of these equals rather more than four English miles or rather less than five English geographical miles.

The translation of the *Meteorologica* is preceded by an appreciative note on the author, whose death in the War was so severe a loss to scholarship. The work did not receive Webster's final correction, but there is little but praise to be said of it. In 354 a 5 we read 'appears to flow,' and this perhaps suits the argument rather better than 'is seen to flow'; but is the amendment legitimate when Aristotle says *φαίνεται . . . φαίνεται*? And there are a few omissions: that of *ἀπὸ* in 364 a 31 slightly obscures the point, though the preceding sentence should put us right; that of the third *καὶ* in 369 a 11 misses the reference

from ii. 4, 8 and 9 to 341 b 6 seq. On 350 a 36 a note of despair is struck somewhat surprisingly: the height and extent of the Caucasus, says Aristotle, are proved by the fact that a great area of country is visible up to the last peak. This does not seem 'unintelligible': the land rises continuously to the top and is therefore not obscured either by the curve of the earth or by intervening obstructions; and as the side of the mountain presents a great district to the view, the mountain must be of great extent.

Professors Rhys Roberts and Forster have reflected the slightly more fluent style of the *Rhetoric* and the *De Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, and it is not unfitting that they should have allowed themselves just a little more freedom than we find in the other translations. They have seldom carried this too far: but in the translation of 1375 a 27 we lose the allusion to the two kinds of unwritten law—'universal law' and equity—described in i. 13; and 'not popular' or 'unknown' seems better than 'unpopular' for *oi pnyre eidoimotere* (1414 b 37). In 1407 b 12 *fora* *de to autra* is omitted: its insertion would perhaps cause the note on the passage to be cancelled. In writing of *rhetoric*, the word 'conversation' is an unfortunate rendering of *hailiaze* (1421 b 14, 18), and it leads Professor Forster to speak directly of making speeches in conversation (1445 b 28). In 1441 b 32 *oiv* does not appear to mean 'therefore,' and in 1442 b 4 the translation has strayed rather far from the Greek.

But, though the list might be lengthened, these citations give an unbalanced effect. They are intended to indicate that while some improvements might be made, most of the points are so trivial as hardly to deserve mention. The translations are all good; and if they are less than perfect, it may at least be suggested that hereafter scholars will economise labour and achieve finality (if ever) by removing the few slight blemishes to be found in these volumes, rather than by making new translations of their own.

The Clarendon Press is, like the translators, nearly perfect. A full-stop has been printed for a question mark at 330 b 6, and a full-stop for a comma at 1395 a 24. More confusing, the notes on 1443 a 34, 36 appear in reverse order, under the wrong reference numbers.

Introduction à l'Odyssée. By VICTOR BÉLARD. TOME I, pp. 462; TOME II, pp. 448; TOME III, pp. 464.

L'Odyssée. Edited and translated into French by VICTOR BÉLARD. TOME I, pp. x + 308; TOME II, pp. xi + 442; TOME III, pp. xii + 426. Paris: Association Guillaume Budé, 1924, 1925.

This work is to include three volumes of Introduction, three of Text and Translation, a new edition of *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, an album-atlas of photographs, etc., and a commentary. Many readers already know the author's width of sympathy and knowledge, his ingenuity in argument and his admirable clarity of style. His version has the three Homeric qualities, euphony, lucidity, urbanity, and if, in exegesis, he sometimes mingles pleasant myth with fact, that also has Homeric precedent. He is never dull, and always, even when we least agree with him, instructive. Homer, in his view, was not a savage, nor the projection of a *thiasos*, but a courteous, accomplished artist, the inheritor of a technique and a tradition—of a metre and poetic diction (not a dialect), moulded by the metre; each subtle, various, elastic, but strict in the observance of the rules (e.g. a tribrach may be 'substituted' for a dactyl always, a trochee or iambus never; the digamma is never ignored: exceptions point to corruption or interpolation). His picture of the Achaean age was based on true tradition, exact and exactly followed. Tiryns and Mycenae had no room for a great company of guests, no space for gardens, and no light except the firelight for the banquet in the 'shadowy Hall.' An interpolator, not the poet, equipped Alcinoüs with standard-bumps and magic gardens and beset Penelope with more suitors than her palace could accommodate. Yet Homer knew much more than the Achaean stories. He drew on many fountains—Egyptian (witness Proteus-Prouti, now Pharaoh, now the 'great pig' of the Nile, the hippopotamus), Chaldean (witness Hermes Argeiphontes, 'god of the bright rays'), and, of course, Phoenician. From a mass of material

for a princely audience, he made a poem of the Adventures told to Alcinous; then his immediate successors made two more, one of Telemachus' Journey, one of the Vengeance. These were recited by rhapsodes for three centuries and more, suffering much violence, unhomeric prosody, neglect of the digamma, logical inconsistencies and antiquarian inexactitudes, appeals to crude theatrical effect, meaningless verbal echoes of the master's music (euphony without clarity), repetition in the wrong place of popular passages (the Web of Penelope, the Vengeance of Orestes), new inventions as sops to local pride, Athenian, Cretan, Cyprian, buffoneries (Odysseus talking of his belly), scurrilities (Ares and Aphrodite), even horseplay (Iros), calculated to delight the vulgar and increase the rhapsode's pay. At last the three poems were edited by the Chian Homeridae into our single *Odyssey*, still suffering, and still to suffer more, from editors and scribes and commentators. Archaeology and the Papyri make it possible, says Mr. Bérard, to recover, not merely the Aristarchean and Athenian text, but the old Ionian, and to desery behind it yet again the uncorrupted form and substance of the three 'originals.'

The critical apparatus is arranged in paragraphs, reporting separately lines omitted from or added to the Vulgate, lines suspected or condemned, ancient critical marks, extant or inferred, various readings, modern conjectures, evidence about the digamma. This arrangement emphasises the value of the Papyri and of ancient criticism. 'Insertions' ('genuine' but superfluous lines) are distinguished from 'Interpolations,' the former appearing at the bottom of the text, the latter in the text, between square brackets. That is brave and honest; we know what text the editor accepts, where many modern diaskeuwasts leave us wondering. Since the narrative was meant for dramatic recitation, M. Bérard, following the hint of at least one MS. and some Papyri, marks the opening of a speech with the speaker's name. Even the 'Chorus' plays its tiny part. This serves at any rate to jog imagination, but we doubt the value of the lists of scenes and *dramatis personae*. The headlines above sections, though often based on ancient tradition, sometimes break the composition violently—there should be nothing, for instance, to separate *Ἀρόρη* in a line 1 from the rhetorical climax *ἀντίβλη* *Ὀδυσσεύς* in line 21, and no break between a 323 and 324, where *ἰσότητος φῶς* is the poet's tribute to the effect of Athens's exhortation on the youth. Phemios' song with Penelope's entry is the central tableau in a balanced structure which begins and ends with music (150 ff., 430 ff.): the talk of Athens and Telemachos is balanced in this composition with the talk of Telemachos and the suitors.

The first (and, I think, best) chapters of the Introduction show how the exigencies of public recitation influenced the poet's technique, and how the needs and temptations of the rhapsodes have left their marks on the text. To a reciter the detached formulae of introduction, for example, were a boon: the transition from the 'monotony' of Homer to the 'variety' of Virgil marked a difference of purpose, not an advance in skill. Sometimes dramatic necessity will prove that, where the MSS. offer a familiar formula and a variant, the variant is 'literary' and must be rejected. In § 641 *Ἐπειθήνιος νόος* is required, and the scholiast's variant is wrong. In τ 491, Eurykleia receives the constant epithet which properly belongs to Penelope, and Mr. Bérard would restore her modest title of 'dear nurse.' We are doubtful. She has been greeted by Penelope as *παρτίφρων* (357) when she most needs discretion—for she is to wash the stranger's feet. Has not the poet used his right to break his own rule at 491, and call the old lady 'prudent' just at the moment when she promises to keep the hero's secret, 'strong and stout as rock or iron'? That kind of observation, whether made by Eustathius or by modern critics, Mr. Bérard waives aside with the good word 'Aesthetic.' Still, we wonder. The chapter on dramatic gesture is excellent. Mr. Croiset and others have pointed out that deictic pronouns often need a gesture if they are to be intelligible (e.g. *ροῖσιν* in a 159). Mr. Bérard gives many new and striking illustrations of this sort of thing (β 191 *τῶνδε* = the eagles, α 424 a gesture shows that *παρπός δ᾽ αἰ . . . ροῖδ᾽ ἀνδρός* do not refer to the nurse's father, β 64 *αἰ* = Penelope, β 196 *αἰδ᾽* = suitors), and suggests that corruption may be detected where there is exaggeration of such effects.

Space denies us the pleasant task of going through the whole work, noting details. Whatever may be thought of Mr. Bérard's reconstruction (as it happens, I deny even what seems to him, as to Kirchhoff, self-evident—*Prooemium centonis speciem praefert*,

and *De Invocatione* . . . *hoc quidem constat* . . . *non tñi Odysseus convenire*), no one can read his book without delight, and no intelligent reader without salutary shaking of old prejudices. A few misprints may be noted: In tr. I. p. 15, 'Riddell,' not 'Riddet,' and in this and the next line 'Odyssey'; p. 22, 'St. Andrews,' not 'Saint-Andrew'; p. 31, 'S. Butler,' not 'Buttler'; p. 260, 'Macktail' should be 'Mackail'; II. pp. 160 and 236, 'Sheppard,' not 'Shoppart'—nor is J. T. S. the author of the article in *Am. J. Phil.*, 1921, p. 193.

J. T. S.

Sardis. Vol. V. Roman and Christian Sculpture. Part I. The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina, and the Asiatic Sarcophagi. By CHARLES RUFUS MOHR. Pp. xvi + 112, with 1 plate and 147 illustrations. Princeton, New Jersey: American Society for the Excavation of Sardis, 1924.

The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina was discovered by the late Howard Crosby Butler at Sardis in 1915. An accidental find of fragments made by a peasant at the plough led to a systematic exploration of a somewhat elaborate triple-niched building, and to the reconstruction of a large sarcophagus of the 'Sidamara' type. Two women lie recumbent on the couch-like lid. One is identified by the inscription as Claudia Antonia Sabina, a lady of consular rank, and the other may be her daughter. Round the body of the sarcophagus is the typical architectural scheme of a colonnade with alternate gabled and circular niches. Seven figures are extant, a nude hero, three 'philosophers' and three draped women.

The Sabina sarcophagus is dated, by a careful line of reasoning, in the closing years of the second century A.D. An elaborate bibliography and discussion of fifty-six other examples, under the general title of Asiatic Sarcophagi, completes the work.

Sardis. Vol. VI. Lydian Inscriptions. Part I. A Collection of the Texts in Lydian Script found at Sardis and elsewhere. By W. H. BUCKLER and others. Pp. xii + 100 and 18 plates. Leyden: E. J. Brill, Ltd. 1924.

This is a Corpus of the known Lydian inscriptions fifty-one in number. Thirty-nine of these are derived from the excavations at Sardis, and the remaining twelve from various sites. One comes from the Artemision at Ephesus, and an outlying one is a traveller's graffito, cut at Sihiis in Upper Egypt. Twenty-four have been previously published by Prof. Littmann and others, and twenty-nine are new.

The whole of the known material is now presented in uniform shape, carefully edited by Mr. Buckler.

He has added indices (1) of the Lydian words occurring in these texts, (2) of the word endings, (3) of Lydian glosses, (4) of words possibly Lydian, and (5) of non-Greek proper names found in Lydia.

Villanovans and Early Etruscans. A Study of the Early Iron Age in Italy as it is seen near Bologna, in Etruria, and in Latium. By DAVID RANDALL-MACIVER, M.A., D.Sc., F.S.A. Pp. xvi + 270 and index, with 46 plates, and 70 figures in the text. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. 4s. 4s.

This is the first part of a comprehensive study of the principal phases of the Early Iron Age in Italy: it is also, in a sense, the sequel to the *Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy* of Professor T. E. Peet, but on an ampler scale, and necessarily on a rather different plan; and it will be an indispensable part of the equipment of any one who attempts to carry matters further in this line of discovery. For it is not only a summary of all the most important materials, and a cautious and suggestive interpretation of them, but it is so

put together as to be an unusually instructive text-book of archaeological method: while it tells a complicated story lucidly, it discusses as well as illustrates some important problems of proof.

Prehistoric archaeology in Italy is not an ancient subject; only a little older, in fact, than in Greece, and in some respects slower to mature as an organised body of knowledge. There has been a very large output of published work, for more than two generations, but, as in the classical periods, there has been disastrous looting of valuable objects, and a good deal of well-meant but ill-considered exploration by amateurs. In addition, just because the material is copious, and the country large and ill-connected between its regions, it has been difficult even for serious workers to keep touch with each other. Publication, like research, has been regional—though the semi-official *Notizie degli Scavi* aims at including everything, however briefly—and there has been nothing like the French *Congrès d'Archéologie Préhistorique* to bring local antiquaries into habitual conference.

It is in some measure due to the realisation of their own predicament that Italian archaeologists have given the cordial help, which Dr. Randall-MacIver acknowledges in his preface, to a foreign student who comes (as he, and Peet, and Grenier, and von Duhn, and Montelius himself have come) unencumbered by professional or official preoccupations, such as the care of a museum or an inspectorate of antiquities, to take stock of what is known, in museums and monographs, without obligation to chronicle those details which 'first publication' requires, and perhaps also with some knowledge and experience of his own; at all events without the traditions or predilections of any particular school.

For there have been, in the interpretation of prehistoric remains in Italy, very marked divergences, and vigorous discussions of them. To appreciate that, you have only to ask your two neighbours, in any company of archaeologists, 'Who were the Villanovans?': still more 'Who were the Etruscans?'. Were the Villanovans 'Terra-maricelli,' or 'P-speaking Wiroc,' or 'proto-Slavs from Illyria,' or merely 'Umbrians,' or 'elder brethren of the Celts'? Did Etruscans arise by spontaneous generation, or trans-alpine immigration, or were they 'sea-raiders who had burned their boats,' or (with Herodotus) in some sense 'brothers of the Lydians'? Is a Villanovan recognisable, at all events after death, by his 'two-storied urn' capped with its inverted saucer or a helmet of bronze or clay? Or are the 'southern Villanovans' rightly so-called, whose ashes are found in 'hut-urns' like those from the Alban Hills and the subsoil of the Roman Forum? In such abundance of counsel, on what principles are the facts to be examined? And, for an even more previous question, how much of the facts do we know? Is there a blind spot in the vision of each exponent of them; or a real lacuna in the record?

Clearly there is only one remedy. Some one eye must review all available data and some one judgment apply the same sound principles of criticism to all. The first result of such a survey, and the most important contribution of Dr. Randall-MacIver's book, is to reveal how small a proportion of the record is fully trustworthy, or full enough to be trusted at all. Few tasks are so ungrateful as that of 'clearing the ground,' or offer so little to show for the labour expended, except a damaged reputation here and there. But when you cannot see the wood for the trees, an axe may be the only safe guide, as well as very illuminating to the timber-lover. This part of his work Dr. Randall-MacIver has done with judgment and tact; his silences are eloquent as those of Colonel Bramble. And what remains, tells; for the trustworthy evidence is fortunately just sufficient to make a coherent story. There is some 'thin ice,' here and there, as in the matter, already mentioned, of the 'Villanovan' hut-urn; and there are occasions, as in the discussion of the painted fabrics of pottery, when the full strength of the argument will be better appreciated when the companion volume appears on the problems of the south. But the main argument is clear, and gathers cogency as it proceeds: what seem to be digressions reverting in convergent proofs.

The first thing, obviously, is to determine the characteristics, and the distribution, of the normal Villanovan culture, in its classical example, the great group of Early Iron-Age cremation-cemeteries around Bologna. In point of time, like its poor relation the 'Comacine' culture of the Ticino and Upper Po, and its 'Atestine' counterpart around

the Adige, it follows on the latest 'terramare'-culture of the Bronze Age north of the Apennines, and passes over, more rapidly than they, into full habitation to the use of iron. Regionally, while these kindred cultures, of Como and Este, occupy between them the countries of the 'Terramarelli,' the Villanovan type, marginal already at Villanova, spreads also southward through the Apennine passes, and with more or less profound modification, as far as Vetulonia in maritime Etruria, and the Alban Hills. What the Villanovan culture superseded, in these districts, while incorporating some elements in itself, is a question rather of Bronze Age archaeology than of the period covered by this volume; but it is one which has been considerably advanced since Peet's book came out, and it would have helped to clear up the argument for an essential continuity between the Bolognese and the cis-Apennine types, if it had been possible to recapitulate at this point. When it is the turn of that other group of variants, represented at Terni, Falerii, and Narce, the brief sketch of the peculiarities of the adjacent 'Picene' culture, between the Upper Tiber and Arno and the coast of the Adriatic, makes the position much clearer; though here, too, we must wait for the promised sequel to get Dr. Randall-MacIver's whole view of this 'front' of the Villanovan offensive.

Very fortunately, as Dr. Randall-MacIver is careful to insist, on two first-class Etruscan sites, Corneto and Vetulonia, Villanovan cremation-burials not only occur indisputably, but lie so that their priority to the Etruscan sequence of tombs is demonstrable; and not merely essential priority, but that crucial period of contamination between cultures so distinct, which precludes the notion that anything else intervened, and consequently binds the whole series into a historical process, of which not merely the approximate date, but the trend and significance are unmistakable. The description and discussion of those early Etruscan tombs, at Vetulonia, are therefore in some respects the central feature of the book. As they were excavated at different times, and with varying degrees of skill and care, their interpretation has been a long and delicate business; and there is full recognition here of the pioneer work of the late Professor Milani, and—as at all points in the story—of the monumental *Civilisation Primitive en Italie* of Montelius.

Vetulonia, however, is shown by its cemeteries to have lost its pristine importance almost at the moment when the first examples of painted pottery began to be distributed, from some centre or centres further south, along the Tyrrhenian seaboard. So, although the series at Corneto, and analogous material from Bisenzio, Falerii and a few other sites, confirms the Vetulonian evidence, and gives it the chronological precision substantiated by the 'Boccheris-Tomb' with its Egyptian vessel assigned by inscription to the years between 734 and 728 B.C., it is not to these sites that we have to look for the culmination of Etruscan culture, but to the splendid chamber-tumuli of Caere and Praeneste, with their wealth of barbaric, quasi-oriental relief-work in metal, and gorgeous jewellery. It is a pity that the valuable material, so carefully collected from Veii, has not yet been made so far available at the Villa Julia as to permit this chapter of the story to be completed. Any one who has seen even the portion of the finds that is provisionally exhibited, will realise the significance of this fine site, and also the difference that scientific excavation makes, to the value of each separate tomb-group. And Veii lies so far south—up-stream, that is, in respect of the most powerful trends of civilisation for this period—that in all questions raised by these southern cultures, which include (and perhaps essentially are) Greek culture, its cemeteries must be among the most eloquent witnesses to the ferment which possessed Italian minds during the later regal period of Rome.

With the great tombs of Caere and Praeneste, disastrously marred for accurate study as in some respects they are, we reach the point of pause, at which Etruscan civilisation is mature, and the dominant factor in the culture of Middle Italy. Chiusi, Cortona, and a few other sites are more important as evidence of the many-headedness of the Etruscan regime, and the lack of coherence among its components, than as contributing any new feature of first-rate importance. So here the story breaks off, to be resumed, we may hope, before long, with the problems set by the coming of Greek colonists, not quite for the first time, if we may assume that there was at least the sporadic intercourse with the Aegean during the pre-colonial age, which the Tarantine and Syracusan evidence suggests.

It can hardly be expected that an essay so wide in its survey, so frank in its criticism,

and in some points so vigorous in its grasp of issues, will be accepted everywhere as settling all the questions which it has propounded. But that it marks a real advance in reconstruction, and closes not a few by-roads, there can be no doubt; and it has the especial merit of 'giving reasons,' and forming not readers' opinions only but a habit of scientific thinking, which will earn it a wider public than its ostensible purpose claims. Rather a large handful, it is nevertheless a manual of archaeological practice, in the best sense of the word.

J. L. M.

Bibliotheca Philologica Classica. Beiblatt zum Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft. Band 48, 1921. By F. Voeltz. Pp. viii + 280. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1925.

The author apologises for possible deficiencies in this volume, in view of the difficulties which German scholars still encounter in procuring books and periodicals from abroad. Apart from the lateness of its appearance, his bibliography shows little sign of work under abnormal conditions. With its 4000 items it considerably exceeds the pre-war volumes in size, and it quite comes up to the old standards of trustworthiness of this series.

Old Testament Legends. From a Greek poem on Genesis and Exodus by Georgios Channos. By F. H. MARSHALL. Pp. xxii + 116. Cambridge: The University Press, 1925. 7s. 6d.

This volume contains a text and translation of the Old Testament favourites from a compilation of c. A.D. 1500. The legends of course have been adapted to suit popular taste; Melchizedek becomes a hairy troglodyte, and Moses' offence is not homicide but the pulling of Pharaoh's beard. Strangely enough, Noah is missing. Not the least interesting part of the book is the illustrations, which, needless to say, reproduce Byzantine costumes and architecture.

Three Inscriptions from Crete. By R. J. WALKER. Pp. 95. Published by the author at Monaco, 20 Rue Emile de Loth, 1925. 16s. 6d.

This is a new and original attempt to read the three mysterious inscriptions from Praesos. In each inscription Mr. Walker detects some unmistakably Greek words, and round these he builds up continuous Greek texts. This is more satisfactory than to imagine an 'Eteocretan' language which survived not only as a patois but in documents worthy to be engraved on stone. Strangely enough, the author has not quite the courage of his conclusions and reads some Semitic words into the first text.

The restorations are, of course, hazardous, but if correct, they show clearly enough the character of each inscription. The third text, as the author infers, can only be a hymn. The same is equally true of the first, yet Mr. Walker decides that it was a $\pi\epsilon\mu\gamma\gamma\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ of pre-Hecataean origin; why should any one have troubled to engrave a guide-book on a $\sigma\tau\eta\lambda\eta$? The second, no doubt, is an inventory, but not a commercial one, as the author suggests, and it is incredible that a 'case of hales of Raw Silk, worm-spun,' should have formed part of a cargo of 300 A.C. or earlier. The fact that the invoice was engraved on stone suggests that it was a list of temple properties. (For abbreviations on temple inscriptions, cf. *J.G.* iv, 616.) Mr. Walker appears to be on the right track, but the inscriptions will require much further discussion before an agreed text is produced.

The Greeks in Spain. By RITA CRAWFORD. Pp. viii + 180; 25 plates. New York and London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1925. 7s. 6d.

This volume is the result of some extensive travelling in Spain and a close inspection of Spanish museum exhibits. It not only sums up the scanty literary and philological

evidence on the subject, but gives a description of the south-eastern corner of the peninsula in which the Greeks first settled, and discusses at some length the influence of Greek on native art. Prof. Carpenter concludes that Spanish art owed nothing to the Phoenicians, but was wholly dependent on Greek or Greco-Italian models; the 'Lady of Elche' he regards as a Greek work of about 450 B.C. In his summary of the history of Emporiae, as revealed by its monuments, he brings out clearly the predominance of Attic influence in the fifth century. The illustrations include a fine view of the *Ἡμετεροκόμειον* in S.E. Spain, where sailors from Sicily first sighted land.

L'organisation de l'économie urbaine dans Byzance sous la Dynastie de Macédoine (856-1057). By CH. M. MAORI. Pp. 159. Paris: E. Guillon, 1925.

A clear but somewhat redundant description of Byzantine economy, mostly based on Leo VI's code of instructions to the city prefect at Constantinople. The author's criticisms of the Byzantine system are in the vein of Finlay, albeit less one-sided.

Delos. By P. ROUSSEL. Pp. 44; 8 plates. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1925. Fr. 5.

An excellent résumé of the history of Delos and guide to its principal monuments. The panoramic illustrations are exceptionally good.

Exploration archéologique de Délos. Fascicule viii (1) and (2). Le Quartier du Théâtre. By J. CHAMONARD. Pp. ix + 463; 66 plates (in separate volume), and 253 illustrations in text. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1924.

This instalment of the definitive report on the Delos excavations deals with streets and houses, and is therefore of special value in illustrating the actual conditions of life at Delos during the period of its highest prosperity (third and second centuries B.C.). The streets differed remarkably from the quay-side, and evidently were as quiet as the harbour was busy. There was no town-plan, no broad processional way, and not much paving; but every street had its gutter, and there was a system of underground terra-cotta pipes with collar joints.

The houses showed great diversity of detail in planning, but they were usually built without peristyles until c. 150 B.C. Upper stories with straight stone staircases were not uncommon, and drainage to the street gutter was general. Of the surviving wall frescoes the greater number are of the 'architectural' type, which recalls the earlier Pompeian style. On the origin of this style M. Chamonard contributes some interesting remarks. This volume throws much new light on a subject which is still but very imperfectly known.

Madness in Ancient Literature. By A. O'BRIEN MOORE. Pp. 228. Weimar: E. Wagner Sohn, 1924.

A sober and painstaking survey which brings out some interesting conclusions. The ancients never made real headway in analysing and understanding lunacy; but they apparently did not have many actual cases to study. The author still regards the ravings of the Pythoness as an instance of physical intoxication, though the French excavations at Delphi have shown that this theory is hardly tenable (see the article by Mr. Oppé in *J.H.S.*, vol. xxiv).

Die Bedeutung der roten Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer. By EVA WUNDERLICH. Pp. xi + 116. Giessen: Tüpelmann, 1925.

A learned treatise which goes well beyond the scope of its title and amasses instances of the use of red colour from all ages and countries and for all purposes. The authoress does not attempt to reduce all these cases to the simple equation 'red = blood,' but makes due allowance for the direct physical effect of red upon human senses.

Le Maroc chez les auteurs anciens. By R. ROGER. Pp. xv + 45 leaves. Paris: L'Association Budé, 1924.

This booklet contains texts and translations of the few ancient references to Morocco. It is noticeable that of the eleven authors cited no less than seven are Greek. The references only deal with the coastal borders and tell us nothing about Abd-el-Krim's country.

The Dialogues of Plato. By B. JOWETT. 3 vols. 8vo. Pp. ii + 576. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925.

A reprint of the 1892 edition. Further commendation of this work is superfluous.

La Politique d'Héraclite d'Éphèse. By PIERRE BISE. Pp. 281. Paris: F. Alcan, 1925. Fr. 20.

Heraclitus is here shown up as a disgruntled anti-democrat who takes refuge in a Utopia of infallible laws and hundred-per-cent sages. The author tries valiantly to render Heraclitus lifelike and makes a little fact go a long way.

The Wandering Scholar. By D. G. HOGARTH. Pp. 274. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925. 8s. 6d.

This book is composed of selected chapters from two old friends, *A Wandering Scholar in the Levant* and *Accidents of an Antiquary's Life*. In regard to the selection, we would merely say that we are glad to see that Commander Hogarth has included the chapter on the Anatolian Turk, which is more instructive than an armful of blue-books.

L'affaire gréco-italienne de 1923. By P. LASTUREL. Pp. 190. Paris: L'Île de France, 1925. Fr. 7.50.

A commentary on the Corfu incident, with a selection of the relevant documents.

The Writers of Greece. By G. NONWOOD. Pp. 142, with numerous illustrations. London: Oxford University Press, 1925. 2s. 6d.

A volume in the series of 'The World's Manuals,' consisting of an Introductory Outline and chapters on the most prominent Greek writers, ranging from Homer to Theocritus. There is a short Bibliography and an Index of principal names.

Roman Private Life and its Survivals. By WALTON BROOKS McDANIEL, Ph.D. Pp. xii + 203. London: George G. Harrap, 1925.

This is a volume in the 'Our Debt to Greece and Rome' series. It describes the various sides of Roman private life and is brightly written. The author uses his knowledge of

modern Italy to good effect in drawing attention to survivals of ancient customs to the present day. The absence of illustrations is rather a serious drawback in a book of this kind.

Platonism and its Influence. By ALFRED EDWARD TAYLOR. Pp. ix + 153, with 1 plate. London: George G. Harrap, 1925.

Another volume in the above series. The book is divided into four chapters dealing with the Platonic Tradition, the Principles of Science, the Rule of Life, and Plato the Theologian. These are followed by Notes, a Bibliography and an Index of Proper Names. The author laudably proclaims as his object a desire to stimulate the reader to a search for further information.

Sappho and her Influence. By DAVID M. ROBINSON. Pp. 272, with 24 plates. London: George G. Harrap, 1925. 5s.

Another volume in the above series. The book is divided into thirteen chapters dealing mainly with the life of Sappho, her writings and her influence on later literature. Sappho exercises a perennial fascination, but it is somewhat surprising that even so enthusiastic an admirer as our author ventures to rank her with Socrates and Shakespeare. The book is thorough, and references to all the latest sources of information are given in the Notes and select Bibliography.

It may perhaps be permissible to express some regret that it should be found necessary to create a fund for the publication of this 'Our Debt to Greece and Rome' series. Surely popular books of this kind, which lay no claim to originality, should stand or fall by the public demand. Is not the proper function of subsidies to promote the publication of really original work which cannot in its nature hope to pay its way commercially?

Lebensweisheit der Griechen. By KARL HEINEMANN. Pp. 166. Krüners Taschenausgabe, Band 23. Leipzig: Alfred Kröner, 1922. M. 1.50.

A series of translations in prose and verse of select passages from Greek and a few Roman authors (e.g. Lucretius, Cicero and Seneca). The book is inevitably somewhat scrappy, but may serve its purpose in awakening the unlearned to an interest in Greek literature.

1. Aristophane. Tome II. *Les Guêpes. La Paix.* Texte établi par VICTOR COULON et traduit par HÉLÈNE VAN DAELE. Pp. 156. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1924. Fr. 38.
2. Eschyle. Tome II. *Agamemnon. Les Choéphores. Les Euménides.* Texte établi et traduit par PAUL Mazon, 1925. Pp. 171. Fr. 20.
3. Euripide. Tome IV. *Les Troyennes. Iphigénie en Tauride. Electre.* Texte établi et traduit par LÉON PARMENTIER et HENRI GREGOIRE, 1925. Pp. 244. Fr. 20.
4. Platon. *Oeuvres complètes.* Tome VIII. 3^e Partie. *Le Sophiste.* Texte établi et traduit par AUGUSTE DIBS, 1925. Pp. 124. Fr. 14.
5. Démosthène. *Harangues.* Tome II. *Sur la paix. Seconde Philippique. Sur l'Halonnière. Sur les affaires de la Chersonèse. Troisième Philippique. Quatrième Philippique. Lettre de Philippe. Réponse à Philippe. Sur le traité avec Alexandre.* Texte établi et traduit par MAURICE CROISSET, 1925. Pp. 183. Fr. 20.

All the above belong to the Collection of Classical Authors published under the patronage of *L'Association Guillaume Budé*. They are very serviceable editions, with Text and Translation printed on opposite pages, and furnished with Introduction and Apparatus Criticus.

Dichtung der Griechen. By KARL HEINEMANN. Pp. 237. Kröner's Taschenausgabe, Band 14. Leipzig: Alfred Kröner, 1922. M. 2.

On the same lines as the foregoing. Its object is to stimulate the general reader to a study of the great Greek poets in translation. The book consists of a series of essays, interspersed with selections from the Greek poets in translation.

Aristotelis De Republica Libri VIII ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri. Pp. 232. Oxonii e Typographia Academica.

This reprint of Bekker's edition of the *De Republica* has no preface and bears no date. It consists of the Greek Text and an *Apparatus Criticus*.

Menander. Das Schiedsgericht (Epitrepontes). Erklärt von ULRICH v. WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF. Pp. vii + 219. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1925.

This edition of the *Epitrepontes* is intended primarily for school use. Besides Text and Translation, its distinguished editor supplies an Introduction dealing with the tradition and restoration of the text and the conditions of theatrical production. There is also a commentary and an essay on the Art of Menander.

Our Hellenic Heritage. Vol. II. Part 4. *The Abiding Splendour.* By H. R. JAMES. Pp. xiii + 254, with 6 plates and 4 maps and plans. London: Macmillan & Co., 1924. 4s.

The present part of this work includes chapters on Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, the Historians, Orators, Greek Drama, Architecture and Sculpture, Archaeology and Travel. Notes on Books introduce the reader to works in which the different subjects are more fully treated.

Theodore Gaza's de Fato, with introduction, translations and notes. By JOHN WILSON TAYLOR, Ph.D. Pp. 29. Published by the Librarian of the University of Toronto, 1925. \$1.50.

This is a first edition of Gaza's work, based on the collation of three MSS. made by the late Dr. Wendland. The author was born at Salonika at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and subsequently migrated to Italy, where he was closely associated with Cardinal Bessarion.

The work is a reply to Pletho's argument that Plato was a champion of the doctrine of necessity. Gaza's arguments are influenced by Christianity, and Dr. Taylor considers him inferior as a philosopher to his opponent Pletho. The Greek, which is classifying in style, presents no particular features of interest for the history of the language.

Pages choisies des Évangiles, littéralement traduites de l'original et commentées à l'usage du public lettré . . . par HENRI PRENOT. Pp. 269. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1925.

The editor has made his selections so as to form an epitome of the life of Jesus Christ. He has translated the Greek text as literally as possible, and as a result finds that he tends to approach more nearly to the Vulgate than other translators. In the Introduction he

discusses the relations between the Synoptic Evangelists. It is interesting to find that so accomplished a Modern Greek scholar comes to the conclusion that the Greek of the Gospels is really the first Modern Greek text.

Sancti Ambrosii Oratio de obitu Theodosii, with text, translation, introduction and commentary. By SISTER MARY MAXIX. Pp. xv + 166. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1925.

This is a dissertation submitted for the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The author remarks that so far 'no worthy commentary on this work has appeared in any language, and no translation into English has been made.' The introduction and commentary are chiefly historical in character, and the work appears to be thorough and is written with sober judgment. There is also a discussion of Ambrose's vocabulary and style, and an index of Latin words.

Isocrate. Philippe et Lettres à Philippe, à Alexandre et à Antipatros. Texte et traduction, avec une introduction et des notes. By GEORGES MATHIEU. Pp. 168. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1924.

Besides the Greek texts (which are printed in rather painfully small type) and translations of these works, there is an Introduction containing various essays dealing with the attitude of Isocrates to the politics of 346, the composition of the 'Philip' and its political ideas, the influence of Isocrates' ideas upon Philip, the relations of Isocrates to Philip between the two Sacred Wars of 346 and 339 respectively, the literary art of Isocrates, and finally with the manuscripts of the works. The book may be recommended to the historical student of the period.

Geschichte der griechischen Literatur. By WOLF ALY. Pp. xvii + 418. Bielefeld und Leipzig: Verlag von Velhagen und Klasing, 1923.

The author in his Preface maintains that, though the history of Greek *literati* has been written, we possess no history of Greek literature. The new method aims at allowing us to recognise 'the really motive factors.' The period embraced is from Homer to Eusebius, and since practically every Greek work of any consequence which falls within this vast period is considered, the necessary compression makes it inevitable that a good deal reads like a catalogue. Though we cannot say that the book (in spite of its author's implied ambition) differs greatly from the numerous histories of Greek literature, it must be allowed that the judgment of the literary tendencies of the various epochs is sane and interesting, and that we gain the impression that our guide has a really first-hand knowledge of what he is writing about. The work is quite up-to-date and includes all the fragments of any importance recovered by finds of papyri. It may be recommended to those who wish to visualise as a whole the wonderful achievements of Greek literature.

Readings from the Literature of Ancient Greece in English Translations. By DONA PRY. Pp. 341: 8 illustrations and map. London: G. G. Harrap & Co., 1924. 3s. 6d.

Like its companion volume, *Readings from the Literature of Ancient Rome*, this book is intended for the ordinary reader. It contains upwards of one hundred short extracts translated by various hands and representative of about thirty authors, besides those figuring in the *Anthology*. In view of the quite exceptional difficulties involved in compiling such a selection, criticism seems hardly in place: it may well be that the book

will succeed in stimulating a number of its readers to pursue further their inquiries into Greek literature. The writers of the later period come noticeably better out of the ordeal than their predecessors, no doubt because they deal mainly in prose, while, almost inevitably, Pindar and one or two other great ones remain only shadows.

V. S.

The Complete Poems of Meleager of Gadara. Translated from the Greek by F. A. WRIGHT. Pp. 138. London: Silas Birch, Ltd., 1924.

Mr. Wright deserves credit for offering us the first complete translation into English of a poet who is of undoubted importance as a figure reaching out from the ancient to the modern as well as from the East to the West, though the claim that 'he, more than any other one man, turned the current of poetical imagination into its present channels' is perhaps a little large. Mr. Wright has grouped Meleager's work into three sections, poems of youth, of manhood and of age, and employs in his versions either rhymed couplets or some form of not too intricate stanza. He has carried through his difficult task with undeniable zest, but the reader is left with the feeling that the method is altogether too rough-and-ready to be fitly employed upon the exquisite and lingering harmonies of these originals.

V. S.

The Antigone of Sophocles. Translated by R. O. TREVELYAN. Pp. 61. University Press of Liverpool: Hodder & Stoughton, 1924. 3s. 6d.

Mr. Trevelyan pursues in this translation the same principles which had already guided him in his version of the *Orestia* reviewed in *J.H.S.*, 1924, Pt. II, these being the compassing of each Greek iambic line in a line of English blank verse and the imitation of the metrical pattern of the choruses 'in such a way that one musical setting would fit both the Greek and the English words.' The result is once more unconvincing. The limits, so strait and, after all, arbitrary, within which Mr. Trevelyan has chosen to confine himself in rendering the dialogue cut him off from too large a part of the English poetical vocabulary. The result is that the general tone is pitched too low and there is a good deal of prosiness which so intelligent a translator would otherwise have no difficulty in avoiding.

V. S.

Tragedy. By W. MACNEILE DIXON. Pp. viii + 228. London: Edward Arnold & Co. 6s. **Aeschylean Tragedy.** By HERBERT WEIR SMYTH. (Sather Classics) Lectures, vol. II. Pp. vii + 234. University of California Press: Berkeley, Cal., 1924. 18s.

Professor Dixon defines his book as 'instead of a treatise . . . a discourse designed to preserve an interest in the topic proposed whithersoever the argument tends; rather than to extinguish it by a triumphant conclusion.' The forty-two short chapters of which it consists range easily and without technicalities over a varied field of speculation in ancient and Shakespearian tragedy. In spite of their informality they keep the main essentials always pretty well in the foreground and are calculated to supply many readers with food for profitable thought.

Professor Smyth begins with a chapter of general considerations and then takes his readers systematically through the seven extant plays of Aeschylus, analysing and comparing as he goes along. His treatment makes little attempt to pass beyond 'the best authorities,' but it is sound and discriminating and altogether forms a useful compendium of traditional Aeschylean criticism, clearly if rather dryly set forth. The disquisition on the *Prometheus* is decidedly the most successful section of the book.

V. S.

Euripides and his Influence. By F. L. LUCAS. (Our Debt to Greece and Rome, No. 3A.) Pp. xv + 188. London: G. G. Harrap & Co., 1924. 5s.

Mr. Lucas's little book begins with a general appreciation of 'the man and his work' and then goes on to a survey of the influence of Euripides throughout the ages, from his own contemporaries down to the present day. The appreciation, if it can scarcely be accepted as the last word on its subject, is very judicious, while the survey is excellently done. Mr. Lucas, who has been most successful in extracting what is really significant from a multitude of detail, brings out clearly how, even at periods when general opinion looked askance at Euripides, eminent minds (Milton, Racine, Goethe) have accorded full recognition to his genius, and how after so much misunderstanding it has been reserved for the present generation fully to respond to his appeal, at any rate on its ethical and social side: whether his interest as a revolutionary has not caused his versatility as an artist to be overlooked is arguable. Mr. Lucas is to be congratulated on producing so readable and instructive an analysis.

V. S.

Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae, collegit THEODORUS HOPFNER. Partes I—V. Bonn: A. Marcus and G. Webers, 1922–1925.

Dr. Hopfner's careful compilation of the classical sources of knowledge respecting Egyptian religion being now complete in five parts, we are able to review the work, which could not be done satisfactorily so long as it was incomplete. For one thing, there was (naturally) no index till the work was completed, and it is not much use to direct the attention of students to a book unfinished and without an index. Now we can say that the book is a very useful one, well selected, well arranged, and with a 'brief but sufficient' critical apparatus. All citations, even those from Herodotus and Diodorus, are given at full length; the work is nothing if not complete. We begin with *Od. iv.* 219–232 and the *φάρμακον* that Polydamna gave to Helen, and end with such people as Nicholas Myrepsus in the thirteenth century. And we may rest assured that we have under our hand everything that classical authority had to say on the subject of the religion of contemporary Egypt.

H. H.

Le Sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée au IV^e siècle. Par CHARLES DUGAS, JULES BERCHMANS et Mogens CLEMMENSEN. Pp. xiv + 144; plates 116. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1924.

This is one of many publications the production of which has been delayed some ten years by the war. The excavations of which it is the official account are those of the French School in 1888–1889, 1900–1902, and 1910. The final excavations were largely facilitated by the purchase, effected by the Archaeological Society of Athens, of the private properties which encumbered the site. The subject matter of the publication is the temple itself and all its architectural and sculptural fragments. It is gratifying to learn that the expenses of publication were largely helped by a Danish source—the 'Fondation Rask-Oersted.'

M. Dugas and his colleagues are to be congratulated both upon the fact and upon the manner of publication. All sections combine the highest thoroughness with a proper caution in the matter of hypotheses. The remains of the temple and of its sculptures are as fragmentary as they are important. Few temple sites of Greece have yielded so little and yet few have given us clues so important. Yet we must confess that M. Dugas has no answer to the simple questions—Was Scopas the sculptor of the Tégéan sculptures? Can we reconstruct the pediments from the existing remains? and for this he deserves thanks, for he is a cautious critic and will not go beyond his evidence.

The temple itself is of the greatest interest. The careful and elaborate measurements given illustrate its refinements and show it to be a work of the highest order and worthy of its architect Scopas. The interior engaged colonnades of the cella seem to be based on the similar feature at Bassae, with the difference that the half-columns are attached to

the cella wall and do not project, as at Bassae, from buttresses. Corinthian colonnades of this character became popular in the fourth century, and the Philippeion at Olympia and the temple at Lousoi give two local parallels. The type of Corinthian work seen at Tegea is essentially the product of a sculptor-architect. Polykleitos the younger produced similar results at Epidauros. The extreme care in masonry and in general finish (p. 55) shows that the standards of the fifth century had not degenerated in the fourth.

The sculptural fragments are lamentably damaged. The best is the Atalanta, whose name M. Dugas accepts and whose place he finds somewhere about the centre of the east pediment, if not in the very centre. He rejects the suggestion of Stądniczka and others that it is part of an acroterial figure, mainly on the grounds that there is no trace at all of wings (p. 81). The attitude of the figure is almost certainly one of action, with the right arm raised and holding a spear. To the west pediment are given the Herakles, of which we have the head, and the two warriors of whom helmeted heads survive. All three figures would be more appropriate in the battle scene between Telephus and Achilles than in the hunting scene of the other pediment. Both the helmeted heads come from the right half of the pediment (p. 88). The head of a young male figure (at Athens) cannot safely be placed. To the west pediment again belongs a fragment of a reclining woman from the extreme left angle, and several fragments of shields. To the east pediment is attributed an important fragment (p. 95), No. 23, of a man in action, perhaps Castor, while another fragment, No. 25, may be Epichos. But all these suggestions, M. Dugas insists, are only intelligent conjecture. Yet they all deserve consideration.

As to the style, M. Dugas remarks on the sketchy treatment, often actually faulty, of anatomical detail and the unequal and uncertain manner of the drapery of Atalanta. All that he will say of the pediments is that the sculptor has followed the traditional rendering of the Calydonian hunt (p. 108). But the examples of this traditional rendering that he quotes are almost all post-Scopasian in date, so that it is equally possible that the sculptor established the tradition.

The beautiful head often attributed to the Atalanta torso (and recently stolen from the Museum at Pils) M. Dugas rejects absolutely. Unfortunately he does not repeat his reasons, which were published in 1911 in a journal not universally accessible to English readers. Having rejected the head he associates it with two small fragments, Nos. 98-99, of a hand and a foot and suggests that from the calmness of the face any statue rather than Atalanta were preferable (such as the Hygieia of Scopas), but in virtue of the non-Scopasian character of the face (to judge by the pedimental heads and the Dresden Maenad) he comes to the non-committal conclusion that it is by an unknown master of the fourth century. But he is arguing in a circle, for he has not committed himself to the Scopasian origin of the pediment heads and the Dresden Maenad is identified as Scopasian on comparison with them. He would have done better to search the Mausoleum fragments for comparison; but these he has omitted to mention.

Among the many interesting incidental details that he gives us are his account of the inscribed architrave blocks, which indicate the nature of some of the lost metopes (pp. 35 and 193), and his rejection of the claim of the Ny Carlsberg male statue to be Tegeatan (p. 80, n. 1).

The line-block plates are admirable, but some of the process-blocks are inferior, and photographs such as Plate CLX, *f, g*, and C, *d*, are of little value. Beyond an irritating alternation of 'Oust' and 'Occidental' we have nothing to cavil at in the style of this careful and illuminating monograph.

S. C.

A History of Greek Religion. By MARTIN P. NILSSON. Translated from the Swedish by F. J. FIELDEN, with a Preface by Sir JAMES G. FRAZER. Pp. 310. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925. 12s. 6d.

This is not simply a translation of Dr. Nilsson's Swedish work on Greek religion, the substance of which was delivered in 1920 in a course of lectures for the Glaus Petri foundation, at Upsala. Since then the author has lectured at Aberystwyth on the relations of Cretan

to classical Greek religion (1923, see *Year's Work* for that year, p. 45), and, pending the complete publication of that course, he incorporates a sketch of its results in the first chapter. Noteworthy points are, that he refuses to consider the serpent necessarily chthonian (p. 13), suggests (p. 15) that the double axe is a sacrificial implement, not a thunderbolt; in its origin, will not hastily conclude that the Minoans worshipped a great goddess (p. 18 *sq.*), pointing out, very pertinently, that their art shows more than one type of female deity, and is strongly of opinion (p. 31) that the goddess, or goddesses, had as partner, not a lover or husband, but a divine child, the Cretan Zeus. In Chapter II he sets forth his discovery, already published in *Archivum: Festschrift für Wackernagel*, of the coincidences of Mycenaean sites and cycles of myth; with regard to particular myths and to religion he is frequently in agreement with the best results of research in this country, perhaps more than that of the Continent; thus he recognises (p. 238) that Herakles was not originally a Dorian hero, but merely one who was appropriated by them; he rejects (p. 67) Bethé's *Sagenurschiebung*, and equally (p. 77) S. Reinach's totemistic theories and (p. 78) Miss Harrison's too ingenious attempt to read savagery into everything. At the same time, he is quite ready to use the results of anthropology and folk-lore, clearly recognising, for instance, the occasional survival of a savage belief or practice (see especially Chapter III), or the importance of folk-tale themes in mythology. 'He is,' as Sir J. G. Frazer says in his introduction to the book, 'far too cautious to push the comparisons to extremes, to discover a totem under every bush and a ghost under every god; but this does not prevent him from seeing that such things as ghosts and, if not totems, at any rate magical beasts, are to be reckoned with. He adopts the Frazerian distinction between magic and religion, with its implication that the former is the earlier (e.g. p. 98); a view against which strong objections can be urged, but which is convenient for purposes of classification at any rate. On many debatable points, such as the existence of divine kings, he maintains a sage neutrality.'

In his fourth chapter, *Gods of Nature and of Human Life*, his attitude is, that man begins (and therefore the Greeks began) by projecting 'his own conscious and volitional ego into the world about him,' thus conceiving of 'powers' exterior to himself, which can hardly be called personal, certainly not anthropomorphic, at first: from these powers (*daimones*) develop the personal and anthropomorphic gods. The next chapters discuss the part played by Homer in shaping these concepts, the very important factors of legalism and mysticism (Chapter VI), the religion of the State, and, finally, a welcome and very sensible section, the differences between the religion of the cultured classes and that of the peasantry. In this connection he instances a few of the modern survivals.

Dr. Nilsson is well qualified to write such a book as this, not simply by his learning and his good sense, but by the fact that he was himself brought up in a country district of Sweden where he met many people among whom something of the old attitude towards such things as myths still lingered. Thus, he does not need to theorise about the importance of the aetiological myth, for he remembers that nearly all the folk-tales he heard as a boy were aetiological. Hence one listens with respect to his views on the mentality of simple people, peasants and barbarians, because he has met that mentality himself and spoken with the possessors of it. Hence also the sanity of much that he says; he is not evolving a camel out of his inner consciousness, but sketching what he has seen.

There are a number of points, however, on which he will find many to oppose him, on grounds which to the present reviewer appear good. Apart from the vexed question of Homer (he is a separatist), I doubt very much if Wilamowitz-Möllendorf's theory of the Asiatic origin of Apollo, which Dr. Nilsson adopts, will hold water; the distinction between magic and religion, already mentioned, is rather too sharp; and there are minor matters here and there which might be criticised. But all this leaves it true that the book is fresh, well-informed, vigorous, and on the whole perfectly sound.

The translator has made several slips in English idiom, such as 'young' several times for 'late' or 'recent.' On p. 101 we find, 'When the place was planned, in late Mycenaean times,' in a context which seems to indicate that he has misunderstood *planerai* (levelled). On p. 109 he, or the printer, has made Iasion into Jason.

H. J. R.

Aspects Ignorés de la Religion Grecque. By GEORGES MÉAUTIS. Pp. ix + 169, with frontispiece and one full-page illustration. Paris: De Boccard, 1923. Frs. 7.50.

It would appear that there are still some belated individuals on the Continent who imagine that Greek religion was immoral. M. Méautis, in this charming little volume, sets out gently to refute them, and does it very well. His three brief chapters discuss each a single point. Chapter I, *L'aspect musical de la religion grecque*, emphasising the keen sensibility of the Greeks, deals with their attitude in general towards music, and in particular with the definitely religious value of such glorifications of music and poetry as are to be found in the *Ion* and the first *Pythian*, ending with an interesting analogy between artistic rapture and philosophical contemplation. Chapter II, on *L'aspect héroïque*, treats of the psychological and religious value of such myths as those of Herakles, Bellérophon, or Oedipus, when handled by a Pindar or a Sophokles. In Chapter III the author discusses a truth which the writings of Profs. Burnet and A. E. Taylor have made very familiar in this country, namely, the deeply religious character of the Platonic Sokrates; he does not go into the question of his historicity, beyond stating his own conviction that Plato's picture is true in its essentials.

In so short a book one does not look for very new ideas, yet there are several suggestions which it would be well to work out in detail, as that on p. 34, that the religious reasons governing the choice of particular myths for the decoration of temples ought to be examined more thoroughly than they have been, or the dictum (p. 140) that Apollodoros in the *Symposium* is *le type d'un converti*, and the parallel drawn between him, the speaker in the *Poimandres*, and a convert at a modern Salvationist meeting. But for considerations of space there are many passages well worth quoting for their insight and felicity of expression.

A fuller acquaintance with modern British literature on classical subjects would have enabled M. Méautis to avoid a slip or two, as the statement that Herakles is a Dorian hero (p. 37), and also would have shown him that he is less isolated than he thinks in some of his views. The rather dogmatic statement that the beautiful archaic statue which forms the frontispiece is *la seule statue conservée qui ait été l'objet d'un culte* might with advantage be either modified or justified in a subsequent edition.

H. J. B.

Kulturgeschichte des Altertums, ein Überblick über neue Erscheinungen. By WALTER OTTO. Pp. x + 175. Munich: Beck, 1923.

Dr. Otto explains that he set out to write a review of recent historical literature, but found the article which he had intended grow under his hands until it became a small book. He has done the public a favour by letting it do so, and giving some account of his own views on many debatable points; for they are the views of one who knows what history is, possesses a sound and critical judgment, and has read widely. Perhaps rather more attention might have been paid to non-German works (thus, there is no reference to Tarn in connexion with the Hellenistic period, to Mrs. Strong¹ when the history of art is in question, nor to several articles in English periodicals which might have been noticed), but this is obviously due merely to the limitations to which every scholar's reading is subject under present conditions.

The book is divided into three sections: (I) *Die Begriffe 'Altertum' und 'Kulturgeschichte'*, (II) *Zur Kulturgeschichte des Orients*, and (III), which is much the longest, *Zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelmeerkreises*. In (I) the author explains that by 'ancient' history he means history down to the Germanic invasions in the West and those of the Arabs and Slavs in the East; he very properly will have no arbitrarily fixed dates. His conception of history centres around the 'Volksgeist' and its development, although he admits the immense importance of the State and therefore of political history. In the other chapters he makes a number of interesting points, a few of which may be cited. He is of opinion (pp. 39, 40 ff.) that the questions whether the Hittites, themselves influenced

¹ He clearly would not agree with her, as he strongly opposes Wiedhoff, p. 124.

by Babylonia, may not have influenced early Roman law, viz Etruria, and to what extent Babylonian literature may have influenced Greece, are worth careful investigation. He takes up (p. 52, note 104) a sceptical attitude towards the views of Reitzenstein as set forth in his *Iranische Erlösungsmysterien*, largely on chronological grounds. He would date (p. 57) the appearance of the Greeks in Central Greece in Mycenaean times, say 2000 B.C., and considers the importance of Mycenaean civilization after the fall of Crete as *der erste große Sieg des Griechentums*, the epic evidence alone showing clearly that the Mycenaeans were Greek. The colonizing of the Black Sea district in the seventh century he considers (p. 88) to have been a feat unequalled by any save the British since that date. As regards the West, he holds (p. 110-111) that the Roman principate had nothing save a few externals in common with Hellenistic monarchies, and that although (p. 130) there was great intellectual decadence under it, moral corruption was not widespread, and social life in the first century of our era generally healthy. On economic history he has a good deal to say that is worth reading, see especially pp. 76 ff. (Greece and the East) and pp. 151 ff. (the relations of science and industry, and of town and country).

H. J. R.

Alt-Kreta. Ed. 2. By HELMUTH TH. BOSSERT. *Die ältesten Kulturen des Mittelmeerkreises*, Band I. Pp. 40, 256 plates. Berlin: E. Wasmuth, 1923.

It is seldom that a later edition of a book improves upon its predecessor so much as this. The first edition of *Alt-Kreta* (1921) was a very useful work, but it had the encumbrances of a popular introduction illustrated with imaginative pictures of Minoan life, and an excursus on contemporary ancient references to Aegean peoples. The latter was a valuable document, but out of place; and it should be noted that the author proposes to reproduce it in another book together with the relevant pictorial and glyptic records. Meanwhile it stands as the sole claim to survival that the first edition now possesses. In that edition, too, several archaic Greek reliefs and statuettes were intruded among the Minoan sculpture. Their expulsion is apparently due to exigencies of space. Dr. Bossert rightly insists upon the continuity of Greek culture, but this picture-book is undoubtedly better without illustrations of it. The next edition will probably discard the few Helladic and Cycladic pieces which occupy the first fourteen plates, and by that time there may be enough material for a volume in the same series on *Alt-Hellas*. The present book contains illustrations of three hundred and fifty-two objects (not counting gems and small jewels, which are in groups). The descriptive text on each plate gives provenience, material and size; dates, publications and other useful references are collected in a separate list of concise and learned notes. Dr. Bossert's intimate knowledge of the material has made his text remarkably accurate; some errors of course are bound to exist, but the reviewer has found only two. The painted funnel-vase with double-axes, stars and shells (No. 166) came from Palaikastro, not Knossos, and the Lewes House collection is not and never was at Oxford (this collection may not indeed exist at all, since some of the Mycenaean gems which it contained are at the present moment in the hands of dealers). It is also wrong, in the chronological diagram reprinted from the first edition, to set the beginning of the 'Early Mycenaean (shaft-grave) period' level with the middle of M.M. II., for the Cretan settlement at Mycenae belongs to the end of M.M. III.; but some other recent authorities have arrived at such strange conclusions in this context that one hesitates to call it an unconscious error. It will be found convenient to keep the Minoan name for the earliest Cretan importations, and to draw the Early, Middle and Late Mycenaean periods (Myc. I., Myc. II., Myc. III.) parallel with L.M. I., L.M. II., L.M. III. The pictures are the best to be had in every instance, and are mostly photographed from originals; many important subjects (notably a series of ivories from Mycenae) have not previously been published. Finally the small print of the notes is admirably clear, and the plates are reproduced in collotype (as against half-tone in the first edition), with the result that their detail bears enlargement under a glass or through a lantern-slide.

E. J. F.

Athens: Its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion. By C. T. SELTMAN, B.A. 4to. Pp. xx + 228. With 34 collotype plates, a frontispiece, and 75 figures in the text. Cambridge University Press, 1924. £2 2s.

Mr. Seltman won his spurs some years ago by the production of a remarkable and illuminating monograph on the 'Temple Coins of Olympia.' Adopting a method of investigation first applied on a large scale by the editors of the *Corpus Nummorum*, he made a careful study of the dies that had been used for the rich mintage of Elis, and was thus able to bring order out of what had previously been, by comparison, little better than chaos. His new book is a much more ambitious effort along the same lines. If it cannot be pronounced equally successful, the fault is not entirely the author's. On the one hand, the combined wealth and vagueness of our information regarding early Athenian history has been a very real embarrassment, offering a constant temptation to indulge in highly speculative conjectures. On the other, the numismatic material has proved far more intractable than might have been hoped for. Even a cursory examination of it will show that the search for actual die-sequences has been relatively barren. Mr. Seltman might not be willing to admit this. The fact, however, remains that between many individual members of the various 'groups' into which the coins are marshalled there is no *seans* of the kind that is postulated, while the relation between the 'groups' themselves is in even less fortunate case. The weakness is fundamental. It means that, so far as the arguments are supposed to be based upon die-sequences, they rest in large measure upon sand. The conclusions to which they lead have, therefore, little, if any, of that inevitability which the confident manner of their presentation may possibly induce the general reader to believe that they possess.

This warning seems necessary in the interests of the uninitiated. Specialists will be under no illusions in the matter and, realising the difficulties with which Mr. Seltman was confronted, they will be all the readier to acknowledge the solid merits of his achievement. His catalogue is an excellent piece of work, careful and painstaking. It will be indispensable to future students of the series concerned. Again, the reasoning in the commentary is often suggestive and helpful. Even where it is least convincing, it never fails to be ingenious. The volume is a distinct contribution towards the solution of a set of numismatic problems whose importance is matched only by their obscurity. As regards the answers which are here propounded (some of which, by the way, are far from novel) it is safe to say that there is hardly one of them on which a jury of experts would be prepared to return a unanimous verdict—unless indeed it were to be adverse. Some, however, are much more likely to be right than others. Thus, the criticism of the ordinary explanation of the well-known story about Hippia is singularly effective, and in associating the appearance of the olive leaves upon Athens's helmet with the victory at Marathon Mr. Seltman brings himself into line with the broad trend of recent opinion. His theory as to the pre-Solonian coinage of Athens, on the other hand, hangs by the very slenderest of threads. That as to the date of the issue of the dekadrachm, though more probable, can scarcely be regarded as yet proven. A very detailed account is given of the minting activities of Peisistratus and of the Alcmaeonidae, whether within the boundaries of Attica or beyond them. It may be true, but few will agree that it is vouched for by the evidence adduced.

Even those who expected that a study of the dies would clear up once for all the mystery of the *Wappenmünzen*, will be disappointed to find that something still remains to be done. The dies concerned being punch-dies with only a rude incuse, identity is extraordinarily hard to establish. Numismatists are not likely to be content with anything short of ocular demonstration, and the opportunity for that is denied them, since no more than a single example of each die is reproduced on the collotype plates. Meanwhile Mr. E. S. G. Robinson tells us in the *Numismatic Chronicle* that, in the only group where he has been able to examine the originals, he cannot accept Mr. Seltman's identification. Where are we? It is all very perplexing. What is more, it is a great pity. Long ago the Abbé Barthélemy, Cousinry and Beulé assigned these pieces to Athens, mainly on the ground of *provenance*. More recently this attribution has been defended by Sic and Babelon against a transference to Euboea. Mr. Seltman has now made it his own. As

elaborated by him, it fits many of the facts uncommonly well. It would be very satisfactory if it could be firmly established. Is there no chance of the whole of the material being made generally accessible? Its publication would certainly be worth while. In face of Mr. Robinson's challenge it would almost seem to be necessary, for there are indications that Mr. Seltman's enthusiasm can sometimes take command of his judgement. The appearance among the *Wappenstein* of the coin with the bull to the left (Catalogue No. 24) is inexplicable on any other hypothesis, and the suggestion that the coin-types of Etruria were borrowed from those of Athens (p. 131) is nothing short of fantastic.

Despite occasional lapses (e.g. 'the staple trade needed no egging on,' p. 9) the volume is very readable. The publishers, too, have done their duty by it handsomely. Nor is the price unreasonable in view of the number and quality of the illustrations. If the collotype plates are not quite equal to the best continental work, they are well up to the British pre-war standard.

The Homer of Aristotle. By D. S. MARGOLIOUTH. Pp. vii + 245. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1923.

In the opening chapters of this book, entitled 'The Cipher of Attic Tragedy' and 'The Homeric Cipher' Prof. Margoliouth extends to Aeschylus, Sophocles and Homer the methods already applied by him to Euripides in 'Chronograms of the Euripidean Dramas' (1915). He believes that the tragedians hid away in the introductory iambs of each of their plays, firstly, their signature, secondly, the date of composition, thirdly, a dedication to Athena, and lastly, a warning to look for no further cryptic information after this point. Taking the iambs two lines at a time, he proceeds to rearrange the letters of which they consist into two new trimeters, which under more or less vigorous pressure yield a suggestion of the sense required. In the case of Homer the procedure is somewhat different, the anagrams—again in trimeters—being extracted from *Iliad*, II 1-7, and *Odyssey*, II 1-10, broken up into groups consisting of two consecutive letters from each line. The result is startling. The vexed question of Homer's birthplace is found to be settled in favour of Ios, one of the minor Sporades, and the two great epics are revealed as having been written by the poet in an official capacity for a Greek ruler of post-war Troy (now called 'New Hion') who was at the same time 'a scion of Aeneas.' For the remarkable theories as to Homer and his poetry which Prof. Margoliouth develops on the basis of his 'cipher' and for their connexion with Aristotle's theory of fiction the curious inquirer must be referred to the book itself. In spite of Prof. Margoliouth's serene conviction of the truth of all these things his treatise is not calculated to persuade many of his readers to share his beliefs.

V. S.

Union Académique Internationale: Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum.
 France, Musée du Louvre, by E. POTTER: Fascicules 2 and 3. Paris, 1923 and 1925. France, Musée de Compiègne, by Mme. MARCELLE PIOT. Paris, 1924. Denmark, Copenhagen, Musée National, by CHOL. BLIXENBERG and K. FRIS JOHANSEN: Fascicule I. Paris and Copenhagen, n.d. Great Britain, British Museum (Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities), by A. H. SMITH. Fascicule 1. London, 1925.

The two new fascicules of the Louvre Corpus continue the publication of the vases from Susa, of the Attic black-figured and of the Attic red-figured vases. A good number of pieces are published for the first time, or better than before; and many of the photographs are excellent. One criticism which I made on the first fascicule I cannot but repeat. If only the vases could be cleaned before photographing! The value of the photographs would be trebled. The modern botching is often manifest in the photograph (for example, III. 1d. pl. 12, 2; III. 1d. pl. 15, 5 (eye and mouth gone over); III. 1c. pl. 18, middle (lady with two heads, one ancient and one modern), but often it is hard, even for an expert,

to tell from the reproduction alone exactly where old ends and new begins: and even when the restorations are perfectly obvious, they confuse and enrage the eye.

In self-defence I must point out that in the text to III. 1d, pl. 14, 5-8, and pl. 18, 8 and 9, statements are attributed to me which I have not made, and that the assignment of III. 1c, pl. 12, 8 to the Kleophrades painter does not in the least depend on the inscription, as might appear from the text; and that Hopkin in his *Handbook* recorded, did not make, attributions.

The Compiègne fascicule publishes the whole collection. The vases are well arranged and well described by Mme. Flot. The restorations in pl. 8, 1, and pl. 14, 2, might have been noted; in pl. 15, 1, the central medallion seems to have been let into an alien cup in modern times; in pl. 17, 2-5, I read Lysis not Lakis; the black vases in pl. 24, 19-59, do not seem to be all Campanian. The introduction gives a lively account of Vivanti, who formed this admirable collection and presented it to his native town.

The Danish Corpus is proceeding in chronological order: the first fascicule contains Egyptian, Trojan, Cypriot, Thessalian, Cycladic, Cretan and Mycenaean. The photographs are very good and never too small; the text, in French, worthy of its authors.

The first British fascicule is devoted to the pottery from Cyprus—bronze-age, and Mycenaean; to the Panathenaic amphorae and vases with kindred subjects; and to 'Gnathia vases.' The photography is excellent; and we are glad to find that the backgrounds have not been tampered with, as in the foreign fascicules. The text is pleasantly brief. The restorations in the Panathenaic vases might have been given (B 132, B 133, etc.), seeing that they do not appear in the *Museum Catalogue*; and the bibliography at the head of the Panathenaic section might have included Robinson's article in *A.J.A.* 1906, and Langlotz's *Zeitschrift*. The 'Gnathia' section does not distinguish what may be called 'Gnathia' proper—a late Apulian ware—from very different fabrics—the Latin Poela (pl. 6, 8) and even Attic vases of the Hellenistic period (pl. 7, 8; pl. 7, 13; pl. 8, 2; pl. 8, 3). The section is none the less singularly valuable, for all these classes of vase have been hitherto neglected, except by one or two scholars like Watzinger and Pagnastecher, and good reproductions are few; the fine bowl of Zeus Soter (pl. 2, 3), long known, has never been published before.

Note the debellennised ornaments on back and side of the British cover compared with the French.

J. D. B.

Phidias and the Parthenon Sculptures. By P. JOHANSEN. Translated. Pp. 136 with numerous cuts. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1925.

The stream of writings on Phidias seems to be endless, to the neglect perhaps of other productions of Greek art also in their way important. Dr. Johansen's book is an honest study. It is largely based on the teachings of the eminent Danish critic J. Lange. The sculptures of the Parthenon are examined in detail, and criticised from the artistic point of view. The writer does show imagination in his attempts to realise the motives and procedure of the sculptors. But unfortunately the book suffers from grave defects. Lange takes for granted Fortwangler's *Lemnia*, and bases far too much on her, seeing that she is only a copy. He regards the sculptors of the Parthenon too much as the men employed by Phidias, and too little as a school of almost independent artists. Almost the only thing that we know about the authorship of the pedimental sculptures is derived from the fragmentary inscription which proves that payment for them was made, not to Phidias, but to several (unnamed) artists. In discussing the well-known 'law of frontality' set forth by J. Lange, Dr. Johansen speaks of its 'authority as an adamantine law,' which is clearly to confuse legislative enactments with convenient scientific generalisations. He makes the amazing statement that Pausanias does not display any interest in artists. He speaks of the admirable archaic group at Chalcis in Euboea as representing *Perseus* and an *Amazone*.

He observes of the pediments at Olympia that their soulful expression is very prominent. I have noted many other strange statements, but it is often difficult to say how far they are due to the writer, and how far to the translator, who evidently has no knowledge of the subject and may easily have transformed a possible view into an obvious absurdity.

P. G.

Phidias et la Sculpture grecque au V^e Siècle. By HENRI LECHAT. Pp. 196: 54 illustrations. Paris: de Boccard, 1924.

Yet another book by a Continental scholar on Pheidias! The present work, however, is not limited to Pheidias. It is in fact a brief account of the rise and bloom of Greek art, especially at Athens. The moral of the numerous works on fifth-century art which have lately appeared seems to be that we know hardly anything with certainty in regard to Pheidias; but that the sculpture of the Parthenon repays the deepest and most appreciative study.

It would hardly be suitable to write a detailed criticism of M. Lechat's book. He runs over the history of Greek sculpture, citing the examples which seem to him most striking, and stating what he regards as their authorship and meaning. But he gives no references, nor does he state the grounds of his views. To discuss them is therefore impossible. The work is evidently meant, not for specialists, but for the French public. Of course M. Lechat is not a mere *vulgarisateur*. He has published careful and minute studies of works of sculpture at Athens, especially of archaic style, and has every right to form theories and to publish them. Nor would his public wish him to state the exact degree of probability which he attaches to each. The work is readable, and the selection of examples for illustration is judicious.

P. G.

Griechisches Privatrecht auf Rechtsvergleichender Grundlage. Band I. Allgemeine Lehren. By Prof. Dr. EGON WEISS. Pp. vi + 556. Leipzig: Felix Meiner, 1923.

This is the first volume of a work intended to give a description of Greek private law as a whole, and the work is the first of its kind to appear in any language. The author, of course, recognises, though perhaps he tends to minimise, the very considerable divergencies between the systems of the various states, and he realises therefore that it is impossible to give a dogmatic account such as can be given of the law of a people living under a single sovereign, but he holds, as is now the general opinion, that underlying all the diversities of time and place there was a unity of Hellenic legal ideas. This unity it is his object to set out according to the scheme now usually adopted for the exposition of a system of private law. In this volume consequently he gives us 'General Principles,' including 'Sources,' 'Subjects of Rights' and 'Acts in the law' (*Rechtsgeschäfte*), which last includes two chapters suggested by the peculiarities of Greek institutions, 'The Principle of Publicity,' and 'Archives.' At the end of the volume we find 'Execution,' in its two divisions of 'Execution against Property' and 'Execution against the Person.' The reason for this rather surprising piece of arrangement, as stated in the preface, is that, not only in the documents which have come down to us, but also in Greek law as a system, execution occupies a preponderating position over judgement. This hardly seems sufficient justification, and we may perhaps conjecture that the abundance of material and of recent work on the subject had something to do with the appearance of execution at this stage of the work.

Without limiting himself by any definite date Professor Weiss has confined himself to Greek law purely, and his description ceases in general at the point where Roman institutions come to prevail amongst a Hellenic population, a point which is not the same for all parts of the subject. It is thus that we get a fairly full description of the Egyptian system of land registration, which is a development of Greek ideas as to the publicity of acts in the law, though as a matter of fact the *βιβλιοθήκη ἐνστάσεων* did not come into existence until Roman times.

A volume dealing professedly with general principles is bound to be discursive, and we need not be surprised if we find in this volume matters which belong more naturally to anthropology or religion than to law, as in the discussion of primitive ideas of personality and the soul, or in that on the nature of an oath. But there is a certain unevenness of treatment which, if it continues in the later volumes, will raise doubts whether the author is right in thinking that research on particular matters has now reached a point at which Greek private law can really be set out as a system. The fact is that the amount of our knowledge varies very considerably according to the accidental preservation of material illuminating different parts of the subject. Thus Professor Weiss can give us a full and useful account of the different forms of publicity and of the ideas which underlie them, but in the whole of the chapter on acts in the law there is no satisfactory general account of contract, and the reason presumably is that no one has yet succeeded in getting any general theory out of the existing material. Partsch's beginnings in his *Butterschaftsrecht* and elsewhere have not been followed up. Again in the law of succession, also discussed in this volume, although we have a great deal of Athenian material and some excellent evidence of the different system of Gortyn, there are fundamental questions as to the nature of universal succession which are quite undecided, and a simple practical question may be incapable of receiving a certain answer. In Attic law could a private creditor of the deceased touch the after-acquired property of a son of his debtor? The author can only give a doubtful affirmative answer, though it is interesting to note that his reasoning carried Partsch (*Archiv für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, VII. 272), who had supported the contrary opinion in his *Butterschaftsrecht*.

Apart from the general question of the possibility at the present time of a comprehensive statement of Greek law, there can be no doubt of the value of this work. Most interesting perhaps and most novel is the chapter on 'Das Gesetz,' setting forth the very different ideas on the nature of legislation held by the Greeks from those which the modern world has developed. Whereas we regard the law as speaking directly to the individual citizen, the Greeks regarded it as addressed to the magistrate, whose originally unlimited powers it is intended to bind. The normal Greek arrangement of laws is therefore, as the author explains, according to the official whose sphere of duty they concern, a point of view which leads to the conception of *νόμοις νόμοις* as a law dealing, in contradistinction, with the citizen directly. In this chapter, as elsewhere in the book, the references both to the sources and to modern literature are full and clear. Indeed it seems to us that the notes are sometimes overburdened with references to modern legal literature which has no particular reference to Greece, but simply discusses, for other systems, the matters of which the author is treating with reference to the Greeks. Note 98, for instance, on p. 273 gives references to modern works on the Austrian system of land registration. Another noticeable point is that the author does not seem consistent in the amount of knowledge he assumes in the reader. Sometimes, as in the description of *mancipatio* (p. 244), we have an elementary statement of matters of which a person who reads this book can hardly be ignorant. In another place the Roman '*deductio quae moribus fit*,' a more difficult, or at any rate a more disputed matter, is mentioned without any explanation. We noticed a curious slip on p. 247, where it is said that urban servitudes can 'only be manipulated,' whereas, of course, what is meant is that they can only be coded *in iure*. But these are small matters. We hope that Professor Weiss' promise of a second volume on the law of persons and property will soon be fulfilled.

H. F. J.

Les Nouvelles de Léon le Sage. By HENRI MONNIER, Professeur à la Faculté de droit de Bordeaux. Pp. vii + 226. Bordeaux: Feret & Fils, 1923.

The editing of this posthumous work of Monsieur H. Monnier appears from the preface to have been a labour of considerable difficulty, but it was well worth while. After some preliminary discussion the author gives a systematic account of the contents of Leo's Novels, together with an illuminating commentary. The volume ends with brief discussions of Leo's theology, psychology, ethics and logic as displayed in his legislation, and a

conjecture as to why he was called 'the Wise.' If this conjecture is right, it seems hard that an Emperor who legislated so severely against magic (Nov. 65) should owe his title to the fact that his subjects believed him to be 'quelque peu sorcier.' The whole book brings out well that astonishing mixture of a highly developed civilisation with a certain *selfish* of mind which characterises the Byzantine age. Leo was well versed in the subtleties of theology—he was indeed more of a theologian than a lawyer—but in the Novel which gives to the captive the right to make a valid will, a sensible enough reform in itself, he is simple enough to ignore the logic of the ancient rule to the contrary, and can only speak of the lack of testamentary capacity as 'a sting more sharp than that of death itself.' It is important to notice Monsieur Mounier's views on two points of general interest. In opposition to Zachariae's later opinion, he holds that the *Basilica* were already published for the first time by Basilus Macedo, and as to Justinian's Novels, he inclines, though with much hesitation, to the view that Justinian made a collection of them himself.

H. F. J.

Sicilia Numismatica. By WALTHER GIESECKE. Pp. 188, with 27 colotype plates. Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1923. M. 36 (\$8.70).

Specialists will find this work stimulating, if often unconvincing, but it cannot be recommended to the general reader. The author's primary object is the Greek coinage of Sicily regarded as currency—as the oil, in his own phrase, which lubricates the economic machine—but he touches also on some of its historical and even artistic aspects. In the latter fields, so thoroughly planted and watered by Holm, Evans and Hill, he has little new to show: indeed his appreciation of style seems sometimes at fault, witness his arrangement of the Syracusan decadrachma. But after all it is as a study of the currency as such that the book must be judged. Giesecke approaches the metrology from a refreshing point of view, breaking with the old 'Babylonian' past and taking the weights of the coins as he finds them. Further, he envisages his problem as part of a greater problem covering the Western Mediterranean, and rightly emphasises the connexion between the standards of Etruria and the Chalcidian Colonies at the end of the sixth century, and between those of Italy and Syracuse in the third. The whole work, however, is stultified in the reviewer's opinion by one fatal assumption, trimetallism. For a bimetallic currency in gold and silver a good case may be made out, but that the intrinsic value of copper coins in Sicily from the earliest times was equal to their nominal value seems a doctrine all hot from what Beloch calls the 'witches' kitchen' of metrology. This assumption leads to the conclusion that the ratio of copper to silver was roughly twice as low as the lowest hitherto proposed, was subject to violent fluctuations (which would make it unsuitable for anything but a token coinage) and stood at different levels in neighbouring cities at the same time. Also a varying explanation has to be found for identical marks of value according as they appear on silver or copper coins. The hitherto accepted system is confessedly not without great difficulties, but this new principle surely makes matters worse.

In dealing with the gold and silver coinage of Agathocles and his successors Giesecke is more at home. His reconstruction of the steps by which, in spite of abortive attempts to break free, Sicilian currency was gradually drawn into the economic circuit of Rome is interesting and deserves careful consideration. Here, as indeed throughout the book, metrologists will be grateful for the material which has been placed at their disposal. A word of praise should be said for the plates.

Novae Inscriptiones Atticae. By J. J. E. HONDIUS. Pp. 143. Leyden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1925.

This work forms the doctoral dissertation of a Dutch scholar best known in this country as the founder and editor of the new periodical entitled *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. It deals with seventy-nine Attic inscriptions, of which five are decrees, eight fragments of inventories or accounts, sixty-two epitaphs and the remainder a fragment of

the tribute quota-list of 448-7 B.C., an incomplete list perhaps of *δασυραί*, part of a fifth-century casualty-list and a fourth-century dedication. All these were unpublished when the author began his task, and although the fourteen texts attributable to the fifth century had before its completion appeared in *Inscriptiones Graecae*, I (ed. minor), that has by no means rendered valueless his edition even of these texts.

The work, which is excellently printed and illustrated by admirable photographs of the more important inscriptions under discussion, is marked by great diligence and care, and the few errors we have noted are almost all typographical slips. The commentaries contain full and valuable discussions of various subjects—e.g. the ransom of prisoners of war (p. 101 ff.)—on which the inscriptions touch, and an interesting *excursus* is added (p. 76 ff.), in which the vexed problem of the *ἀρχαῖος νόμος* is examined. Last, but not least, Dr. Hondius has appended to his work a series of indexes which notably facilitate its use.

Plotinus. Translated by STEPHEN MACKENNA. Vol. II., *Psychic and Physical Treatises* (Enneads II and III). Pp. 246. London: Philip Lee Warner, publisher to the Medici Society, London, 1921. 21s. Vol. III., *On the Nature of the Soul* (Ennead IV). Pp. 160. London: The Medici Society, 1924. 21s.

It is a strange thing that Plotinus, whose manner of writing even his devoted pupil admitted to be incorrigibly careless, should find a translator who has managed to turn the creaking and jolting Greek into as perfect a piece of English prose as has ever been produced from an ancient original. We cannot help wondering what Mr. MacKenna would make of a first-class Greek text, say a Platonic dialogue, and we hope that some day he will try. Mr. MacKenna is modest about his achievement; he wishes his translation to be regarded as tentative; and he freely admits that he is sometimes as likely to be wrong as right. It is pretty certain that parts of Plotinus will always remain obscure, mainly through his own fault and not that of his interpreters; but no one in recent years has done more to elucidate the dark places than Mr. MacKenna. We believe, however, that Mr. MacKenna is less patient of flattery than of criticism, and we will therefore call attention to some passages where his renderings seem to require modification.

Vol. II., p. 12, l. 19, 'nowhere is there any wronging of any other, any opposition.' For the last two words substitute 'even if there be opposition' (*οὐδ' ἂν ᾗ ὁμοίως*, Volkmann's edition, 227. 5), and cp. V. 251. 23, *ἀνέχοντα δὲ αὐτὸς . . . καὶ εἰ ἐξ ὁμοίως*. P. 17, l. 11, for 'why the wrong course is followed is scarcely worth enquiring' read 'it is not right to hold that the turn towards the bad comes from seeking it' (so Bréhier takes it). P. 25, beginning of III. 2. 12, Mr. MacKenna is driven to considerable strains by misconceiving, as it appears, the character of the conditional sentence *εἰ ἀπὸ γένεο . . . οὐκ ἂν ὀρχοίη*. The passage means something like this: 'if the Reason-Principle applying itself to matter is the creator of this universe, and if it derives its characteristic differentiation of parts from its Prior, then this, its product, so produced, cannot have a superior in beauty.' P. 26, l. 10 insert 'misused' (*κακῶς ἐχρησάμενα*) between 'have' and 'money.' P. 35, l. 13, for 'we may perhaps think of actors' read 'possibly there is no need to . . .' (*μή γὰρ οὐδαὶ δέ*). Throughout this paragraph Plotinus seems to be denying his previous suggestion (c. 17) that the actors in the world's drama do something more than repeat the parts which its Author has given them. P. 37, l. 20, *ταῖς ἐπ' ἑαυτοῖς* should be rendered 'the agents for good and bad,' not 'the minor agents, the individuals.' P. 42, at foot, 'some of these causes . . . ἐξ αὐτῶν' (V. 257. 20) does not refer to 'causes,' but to 'ourselves,'—they (evils) are due to our connecting ourselves indeed with the operations of Providence . . . but being unable to join on the consequences . . . (so Bréhier). P. 51, l. 24, *τὸν μεταξὺ τῆς ἑταίρου γενέσεως* (V. 265. 17) means 'in the interval before,' not 'during the period of their renewed life.' P. 55, l. 10, *τὸν λεγόμενον μικτὸν ἔρωτα* (V. 269. 10) does not mean 'copulative love.' The reference is certainly to Plato's 'mixed sort' of love (*Love*, 837 B) in which bodily desire and spiritual love are mingled. P. 57, l. 11, *τῆς τῶν αὐτῶν αἰτίας καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνην ὁμοίως ὁ ποιητὴν ἔν αὐτῇ* (III. 2. 3, V. 271. 12) is rendered 'in the real being which looks . . . towards the very Highest.' But the very

Highest, or the One, is not *olotia*, but transcends it. *ὑπερβολή*, if right, (? *ὑπερβολή*), must in spite of grammar refer to soul looking towards the intelligible world, which is *ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οὐρανό*. P. 66, l. 4, the distinction between *λόγος* and *μῦθος* is missed. Plotinus is arguing that not merely myths have to use the imagery of time in reference to the eternal, but even sober philosophical discussion! P. 72, l. 4, *ὅπως δὴ αὐτῷ* (V. 285. 32) rendered by 'in its effort to shape things to its choice,' goes with *ἀλλήτε*, 'where we dealt with the several characters of all the passions.' P. 75, l. 18, the words *οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ* go together; 'It is everything by its power, nor has that power a definite limit' (so Bréhier). P. 79, end of c. 8, and p. 83, last line, *ὡς αὖτε* should be translated by 'subject' rather than 'substance'; and *σῶμα*, p. 89, by 'body' rather than 'matter.' Plotinus himself is very careful about these distinctions. P. 80, l. 23, 'certainly there can be none (i.e. no action) between these (sc. qualities) of unlike scope.' But the words *μᾶλλον δὲ αἱ ἐναντίας ἔχουσι* (V. 294. 10) must mean 'though there will be marked action in the case of opposite qualities,' a well-known Aristotelian doctrine, stated by Plotinus himself a few lines lower down. P. 87, l. 12, *παρὰ πλησύνει* is not 'brought near,' but 'the same sort of thing.' P. 101, l. 15, the Greek means 'so too the All will have something towards which it tends.' *εἰς ὅπερ* is subject of *οὐτως εἶναι* (V. 314. 11). P. 104, l. 27, the translation 'the conception of Eternity . . . is not satisfied by something measured out to any remoter time' takes *εἰς χρόνον ἄλλον μετατρέμενον* (V. 317. 15) wrongly. The participle agrees with *χρόνος* and is contrasted with the following *ἄπειρος*. P. 106, near foot, Mr. MacKenna has 'if the reference is to the circuit of the heavenly system (it is not strictly continuous or equable, since) the time taken in the return path is not that of the outgoing movement . . . the movement of the All proceeds, therefore, by two different degrees; the rate of the entire journey is not that of the first half.' This is misleading. The circuit is equable enough and so is the rate of its progress. Plotinus means that if there is such a thing as continuous motion like that of the heavenly circuit, it is none the less in time, not time itself; half the circuit takes half the time of the whole. On the same page and elsewhere *τεταγμένη* (sc. *εὐκτα*) is rendered 'definite' and on page 107 'subordinate.' The former rendering is obviously right. P. 114, last line, for 'sequent' read 'continuous' (*συνεχής*). P. 163, l. 27, 'that it needs,' *ἣ πρὸς δέξιον* (V. 137. 25). Substitute 'than Saturn.'

Vol. III. (Ennead IV). It is worth noting that this volume contains those treatises on the Soul which the critic Longinus found so puzzling; that he could only suppose his copy defective, though Porphyry assures us it was an exact transcript of the author's manuscript. Mr. MacKenna throws a flood of light on these difficult books.

P. 4, l. 22, 'it (matter) exists here and yet is There.' 'There' suggests the eternal world, but *ἄλλοι* . . . *ἄλλοι* refer to different places in the sensible world. P. 11, l. 41, 'with other parts again making allotment of faculty.' But *ἄλλων δὲ τὰ μετέχον αὐτῶς* (V. 13. 3) means 'this kind of partition belongs to other things than soul.' P. 32, l. 3 (V. 32. 29), 'things, therefore, in which at no point is there an entirety.' Is not the subject 'space'?—'so that in nothing is it an entirety.' P. 35, l. 10, *ἐκ πᾶσιν τοῖς νεύροις* (V. 35. 31) doubtless means 'at the ends of the nerves,' not 'mainly centred in the nerves.' P. 41, last line, *ἣ γὰρ ἐφελκυσμένη ὅτι* (V. 42. 11), 'the soul still a dragged captive.' But *ἐφελκυσμένη* is probably middle (cp. V. 27. 26, 37. 32) and *τι* should be read for *ὅτι*, which is not wanted. P. 42, c. 28, l. 2. The right translation is 'or do we remember objects of desire by the desiring faculty, or objects of anger by the passionate faculty?' No one would suggest that we desire by *τὸ θυμώδες*, as Mr. MacKenna's rendering implies. P. 46, l. 1, 'though its isolation is not perceived.' Rather 'but when merged in another its separate existence is hidden.' P. 46, l. 21, 'there is always the possibility . . .'. The right rendering seems to be 'for owing to the excellence of the higher it may be possible for the other of lower nature to be held down forcibly by its superior.' Mr. MacKenna takes *τὴν ἐξουσαν τῆς φύσεως χείρω εἶναι* (V. 46. 14) to mean 'for the one (sc. the higher) to become worse in nature.' But *τῆς φύσεως χείρω* is adjectival and *εἶναι* goes with *καταχόμενον*. Cp. V. 50. 27, 51. 18. P. 63, l. 25, 'the indicated conclusion does not follow unless . . .'. *οὕτως ὡς οἱον ἄγειν* seems correctly rendered by Ficinus *sic res aperitur quasi dicendo, λέγειν* referring to the 'affirmation' by the ordering principle. P. 75, l. 8, 'this could not accompany that intention towards the highest.' Rather 'this cannot be due to . . .'. *τὸ πρὸς*

σπέρματι εἶναι (V. 73. 27) must be causal. P. 78, l. 23, substitute for the text 'but also over the suffering of anyone connected with us.' At line 6 of this page (V. 76. 11) for *θυμῶν*, 'passionate', *θυμῶν* should probably be read. Cp. V. 76. 31. P. 79, last line, 'if the occasions of anger presented themselves.' *ταῖσιν* refers to blood and bile just mentioned. P. 83, l. 9 f., 'such a memory as we ascribed to Demeter and Hestia.' The passage looks back to c. 27, where memory is not attributed to these beings. A safer rendering would be 'it might have been something the same with them as with Demeter and Hestia.' P. 100, last line, *ὅλε δὲ τοῖς ἐπαγῆς* (V. 105. 29) presumably means, not 'so far as anything is visible,' but '(the fire itself) in all its clearness.' P. 128, last line, 'much more must this be true in the case of thought . . .' The Greek (V. 127. 3) undoubtedly means 'so that still more when passing into the governing principle they (sc. objects of sensation) become like indivisible thoughts.' Cp. I. 1. 7.

The following minor alterations require to be made: Vol. II, p. 93, l. 14, cut out 'of' before 'any determined thing'; p. 98, l. 25, read 'excluding' for 'including'; p. 103, l. 1, alter 'for the cold' to 'for the hot'; Vol. III., p. 38, l. 12, read 'revolving' for 'revolting' and p. 134, l. 14, 'has not been' for 'has been.' At p. 142, l. 18, 'through' should be read for 'throughout,' and at p. 148, l. 21, 'tends to' is probably a slip for 'attends to' (*ἀπαρτίζοντα*).

Mr. MacKenna would have done well to add a list of the readings which he adopts in disputed passages. Occasionally he follows Volkmann where he should not, but not infrequently he throws over the editors and reverts to the manuscripts. Sometimes he translates what appear to be conjectures of his own, e.g. Vol. II, p. 93, l. 7, *ἄγ* for *ἄν* (V. 306. 11), Vol. III., p. 18, l. 27, *ἡ μὲναι μία* for *ἡ μίαν μίαν*. Mr. MacKenna makes generous acknowledgment to Mr. E. R. Dodds for help and criticism. All students of Plotinus will share his gratitude to Mr. Ernest R. Debenham, who undertook the entire financial burden of the work.

J. H. S.

Die Antike Münze als Kunstwerk. By KURT BEUTUNG. Pp. 148, with 45 collotype plates. Berlin: Schoetz and Parrhasius, 1924.

It is nearly half a century since the publication of Professor P. Gardner's pioneer work: *Types of Greek Coins*, and since then no similar survey has made its appearance. In the present work the Director of the Berlin Cabinet does not, it is true, range over so wide a field: the difference in title sufficiently indicates his limited scope, which is to write the history of Greek coins as works of art, ignoring as far as possible their economic, historic and mythological aspects. In important directions he breaks new ground, while he works over the old more closely and carefully: indeed one's only criticism of the book as a whole is that the cultivation is so intensive that it is often difficult to see the wood for the trees. To be frank, it is very hard reading, physically as well as mentally. The strings of references keep the reader continually searching the plates under penalty of missing the essence of its highly concentrated sentences, though if he wins through to the end he is amply repaid. The author sees the coinage of the ancient world not in isolation, but as a particular expression of its art at large, and, subject to the special limitations imposed by purpose and material, following step by step the same course. Thus while he is at pains to cite frequent and just analogies from the major arts, he emphasises the artistic independence of the die engravers of the earlier periods, and strongly attacks the view that they largely borrowed their subjects from sculpture or painting. Some may think that he goes too far in this reaction; true, die engravers were not slavish copyists, but the parallels still to be found among the relatively scanty remains of ancient sculpture suggest that the direct debt to their elder brothers was greater than the author allows. The stylistic development is fitted into a more closely articulated framework than is usually attempted: the archaic period (700-480) falls into three subdivisions at 570 and 520, the fine period (480-323) into four at 440, 400 and 350. The third period covers the Hellenistic age and the Roman Republic, while the fourth summarises somewhat scantily the Empire down to A.D. 284. In the earlier periods, which rightly constitute the chief interest, there are

sections on such subjects as the treatment of animals, sitting and standing figures, spacing, etc., and the development of various *motifs* is carefully traced. General characteristics are sketched in from time to time with a firm hand and many acute observations stick out from the mass of detail. We note, for example, that a wholesome scepticism is admitted on the value of style (as opposed to fabric) for determining locality, and with this we can only agree. The short discussion of fourth-century portraiture is perhaps less satisfactory than the rest. The author apparently regards Mausolus as the first individual to be represented in a genuine portrait of any kind, and refuses to believe on *a priori* grounds that the four strikingly realistic heads on a well-known group of Cyzicene staters (c. 375) can be other than imaginary likenesses of distinguished men long dead. But what of Demetrius of Alopece and his portrait of bald, pot-bellied Timotheus and others? Besides, the analogy on which stress is laid between a coin of Ios showing a head of Homer and the Cyzicenes hardly holds. There we have a head which but for the legend *OMHPOΣ* would pass quite comfortably for Zeus or one of his bearded fellows; here are heads which one feels in spite of the lack of a name to be human and individual. In this connection, too, more space might have been given to the portraits of the Hellenistic age: there is none, for example (and splendid ones may be found), of Seleucus Nicator, or of any Bactrian king. Indeed the absence of all mention of this outlying province from the survey of Hellenistic art is a somewhat surprising omission.

Throughout his work the author's standpoint is severely objective, that is to say, in spite of the title, archaeological rather than aesthetic; we miss, for example, any discussion of the individuality of the various masters—and they are not a few—who actually signed their works. But to those who wish to get a general view of the artistic development of Greek coins, the problems which faced the engraver and his solutions, the book with its forty-five admirable plates may be heartily recommended.

Die Hellenistische Kunst in Pompeii. Herausgegeben von FRANZ WINTER. Bd. IV. *Gefässe und Gerathe aus Bronze.* By ERICH PERITZ. Pp. 64, with 10 plates and 90 text-illustrations. Berlin and Leipzig: W. de Gruyter & Co., 1925.

We are glad to see a first instalment (strictly speaking, the fourth volume) of the German publication of Hellenistic art at Pompeii, under the editorship of Dr. Winter. Dr. Peritz's name is a guarantee of a high standard of excellence, as there is no better authority on Greek metal-work. The book is well got up and admirably illustrated.

The comparison of metal vases with contemporary ceramic examples is very instructive, and does not seem to have been attempted hitherto with such careful study as in the present work. The author seems rather to suggest that the Pompeian vases are imitations of Greek forms in metal, but surely just the reverse was the case? A comparison of the clay and metal *situlae* (Figs. 19, 20) shows very clearly that the metal vase was the prototype. At all events the closeness of resemblance in some of the vase-forms, as, for instance, the large kraters with volute handles, is very remarkable. There is also an interesting section (p. 43 ff.) on the development of the *candelabrum*, both as candlestick and lamp-stand.

Male Infibulation. By ERIC JOHN DINGWALL. Pp. vi + 145; with 1 plate and 7 text illustrations. London: Bale, Sons, and Danielson, 1925. 10s. 6d.

A complete and practical discussion of a much-misunderstood practice of antiquity. The writer suggests that the term has been extensively but wrongly applied by scholars to phenomena in Greek art which are to be explained by reference to customs and ideas quite different from infibulation proper. The work is announced as the first of a series of similar studies and we shall await with interest the appearance of the next in the series.

The Voyage of the Argonauts. By JANET RUTH BACON. Pp. 187, with six illustrations and three maps. London: Methuen, 1925. 6s.

This pleasantly-written little volume is an examination of the famous legend, of its development in literary tradition and of its possible historical sources. The treatment is conservative, and the conclusion is reached that a real voyage of about the fourteenth century B.C. is the origin of the saga.

L'Empire de l'Orient. By STAVRO COSTOPOULO. Pp. 260. Paris: l'Œil de France, 1925.

A study of economic conditions in Kemalist Turkey. The author writes from the Hellenic point of view, and we fear that his conclusion, that the salvation of Turkey lies in the repatriation of the expelled Greek elements, presents obvious difficulties.

The Greek Commonwealth. Politics and Economics in Fifth-century Athens. By A. ZIMMER. Fourth edition, revised. Pp. 471. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924.

A History of Egypt under Roman Rule. By J. GRAYTON MILNE. Third edition. Pp. xxiii + 331. London: Methuen, 1924.

Five Stages of Greek Religion. By GILBERT MURRAY. Pp. 276. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925.

Die Islamische Damaskus. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des Deutsch-Türkischen Denkmalschutz-Kommandos. By T. WIEGAND, K. WILZINGER and C. WATZINGER. Pp. 203, with 62 plates. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1924.

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